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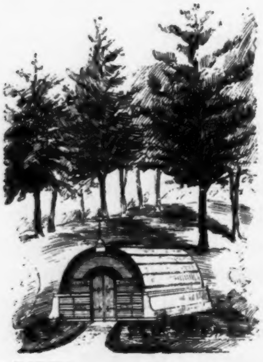
GENERAL GRANT'S RESTING PLACE*

ITS HISTORIC ASSOCIATIONS

BESIDE the smooth waters of the most beautiful river on this continent, and on a quiet eminence in the choicest portion of the metropolis—although isolated altogether from its busy life—sleeps the greatest general of modern history. His malady, death and burial have for months absorbed sympathy and attention from the whole civilized world, and now that his sacred ashes repose in peace, all eyes are turned with jealous interest toward the spot so unexpectedly selected for his final resting place. "Where is Riverside Park?" was the question asked by thousands of New York's own intelligent citizens when the preference of the Grant family was first made known to the public; and outside of the city this park was a myth indeed. It must have been inspiration that guided the choice, for nothing could have been more appropriate. The natural beauty of the site and its commanding prominence surprise and delight all visitors. Its secluded situation, while easily accessible by street and elevated cars as well as carriage driving, impresses the mind with a sense of harmony and peculiar fitness. Furthermore, the region and the rolling river are alive with historic associations of a rich and varied character.

As a public domain Riverside Park is young, and its name a new one in the alphabet of parks; but these picturesque heights which have produced the park are full of years. Long before the Revolution this part of Manhattan Island near the river was dotted with country seats, fruit orchards, flower gardens, and deer parks, and known as Bloomingdale; it was, in truth, the watering-place of the *élite* of New York, the resort of all distinguished strangers from abroad, the Newport of that ancient period when the city proper was struggling heroically to overcome the swamps and malaria in its advance toward the ditch at what is now Canal street. Riverside Park does not, however, stretch over the whole Bloomingdale district, but occupies the wooded borderland or precipitous bank of the Hudson for a distance of three miles north and south—from Seventy-second to One Hundred and Thirtieth street—with a varying breadth of only three or four hundred feet. Neither

is it connected with Central Park, except by the cross streets from Eighth Avenue. A smooth park drive curves along the crest of the high bluff, itself a part of Riverside Park, at an elevation averaging one hundred or more feet above the river, and is pronounced the finest drive of similar extent in this country—or in any country on the globe.



TEMPORARY VAULT.

At the extreme northern end of Riverside Park is a high plateau of several acres of ground, jutting out like a promontory, some one hundred and thirty feet above the river. It is unimproved further than that the handsomely finished park drive circles gracefully about its ragged edge in the form of a loop. A gently sloping elevation in the central portion of this plateau seems to have been specially provided by Nature for the illustrious soldier's tomb. It commands a view looking up the Hudson toward West Point for a great distance, at least thirty miles on a clear day, and southward to the Battery and across the Bay to the Narrows; while in the direction of the rising sun may be seen the East River and the blue waters of Long Island Sound, and to the west, beyond the Hudson, the Palisades, Fort Lee, and the bold, steep, leafy shores of New Jersey. The temporary vault fronts the west, and the eminence in the side of which it is built is crowned with a cluster of native forest trees. The proposed monument will be exceptionally conspicuous from many points of view, while opportunity for the display of taste in ornamental terraces and grounds about it is unequaled.

The most noteworthy memories that cluster about this beloved burial-place are singularly enough connected with the greatest commander of the eighteenth century—Washington. One hundred and nine years ago (in 1776), the month of August was one of the hottest that had been experienced in New York for many decades. The city was in a condition of perpetual terror—panics were of daily occurrence—for a hostile British armada, outnumbering in both ships and men that which Philip II. organized for the invasion of England in 1588, was snugly anchored in a safe haven between Sandy Hook and Staten Island. Spies reported a force of forty thousand disciplined warriors preparing to invade Manhattan Island. What was to prevent this great fleet from running up the Hudson and landing its troops at some of the convenient points along the shore? Washington, whose small army occupied the city, had called for volunteers

to swell the ranks, however brief might be their terms of service, and men had come from all quarters of the compass in the greatest possible haste and confusion, and in the most grotesque of costumes. Some wore tow frocks of home manufacture, some green hunting-shirts with leggings to match, some were in the old red coats used in the French wars; the Delaware men were in dark-blue coats with red facings, the New Jersey riflemen in short red coats and striped trousers, the Pennsylvania regiments in all the colors of the rainbow—brown coats faced with buff, blue coats faced

THE APTHORPE MANSION

Washington's Head-quarters in 1776.

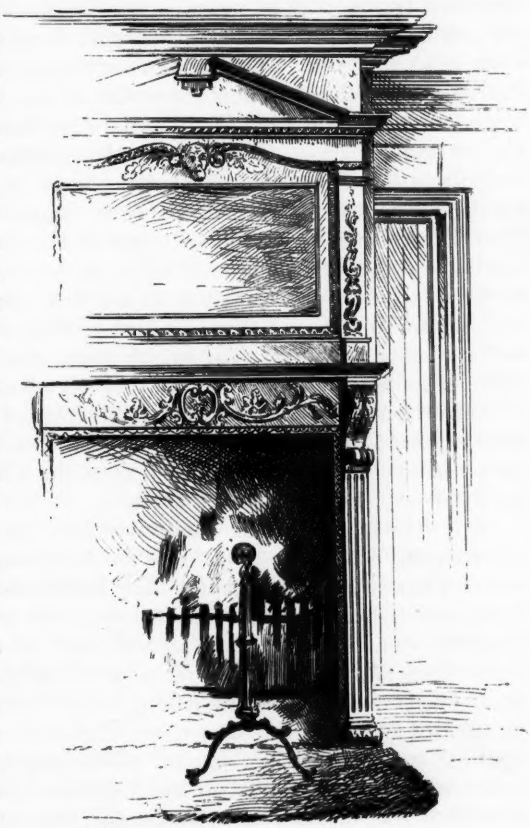
with red, brown coats faced with white and studded with great pewter buttons, buckskin breeches, and black cocked hats with white tape bindings—and the Virginians were in white smock-frocks, furbelowed with ruffles at the neck, elbows, and wrists, black stocks, hair in cues, and round-topped, broad-brimmed black hats. Washington's guards wore blue coats faced with buff, red waistcoats, buckskin breeches, black felt hats bound with white tape, and bayonet and body belts of white. The variegated throng were uniformed after awhile, but for the present they worked day and night on the fortifications. The daring men whose names were to make

the age illustrious were alive in every fiber. Washington was everywhere. The push of a century was behind him. He knew the whole shore of the Hudson, and made swift observations every few hours. Hundreds of times during that memorable summer he was on this high bluff, now endeared to the American people by the tenderest of ties, accompanied on different occasions by Lord Stirling and Generals Heath, Greene, Spencer, Putnam, Mifflin, Knox, and George Clinton, and the younger officers, Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton. The Bloomingdale road then terminated as a legal highway at Adam Hoagland's house, about One Hundred and Fifteenth street, but it was continued as a farm road to Manhattanville, and a well-worn bridle-path branched from it to this look-out bluff. The terminus of the Bloomingdale road was also connected by a narrow public way with old Kingsbridge road at McGowan's Pass. General Putnam devised a curious scheme by which he thought to trip the British vessels when they should attempt to pass up the Hudson. He worked manfully to obstruct the channel opposite Fort Washington, and in full view from this point, by sinking the hulks of old vessels, to be fastened together with chains. In the midst of his Herculean efforts, however, two large ships of the enemy, the *Rose* and the *Phœnix*, with three tenders, sailed defiantly by the city and its batteries, passed these "new-fangled" and unfinished obstructions without touching them, and anchored in Tappan Sea, where they remained four or five weeks. The movement was interpreted to mean the ultimate surrounding of Manhattan Island. A queer little fleet—made up of schooners, sloops, row-galleys and whale-boats and commanded by Benjamin Tupper—hovered about, chiefly in this neighborhood, dodging in and out of the coves, and keeping a constant look-out. Six of these ambitious craft glided into Tappan Sea one bright day and attacked the British men-of-war at their anchorage, fighting valiantly for two long hours to the great perplexity and discomfort of the enemy, and then retired. Fire-ships worried the British ships excessively also; one little fire-ship grappled the larger war vessel in the night-time, and was with difficulty shaken off. All these varied movements were witnessed by some of the American officers, from the Bloomingdale bluff, with the most intense interest.

In the course of the eight years' Revolutionary War this particular point of observation bore the footprints of probably all the great generals of both the opposing armies.

In the immediate vicinity, not far from a mile distant, was the elegant suburban mansion of Charles Ward Apthorpe, a gentleman of culture, æsthetic tastes, and large property interests, who, appointed by the king,

was one of the honorable counselors of the royal governor of New York. The ladies of his family were socially prominent, and the wealth and fashion of the city had long esteemed it a privilege to be counted on their visiting-list. The house itself was a gem of domestic architecture for that period. It stood on an eminence, commanding a broad view of the Hudson, surrounded by majestic shade trees of a century's growth, amid highly cultivated grounds, and it fronted both the east and the west—that is, it had two fronts precisely alike, the same as represented in the sketch. Its great entrance-hall opening through a recessed portico at either end, was of sufficient dimensions for a cotillion party. The wood-carving of the interior of the dwelling was in keeping with its ornate exterior. The stately dining-room was finished in wood as dark as ebony, and the ornamentation was chaste, and elaborately executed.* All the appointments of the mansion were in a style that would have graced any nobleman's palace in the Old World. Mr. Apthorpe was not an active partisan, and while his sentiments were those of loyalty to the crown, he satisfied the Revolutionary committees of his peaceable



SECTION OF MANTEL IN THE APTHORPE DINING-ROOM.

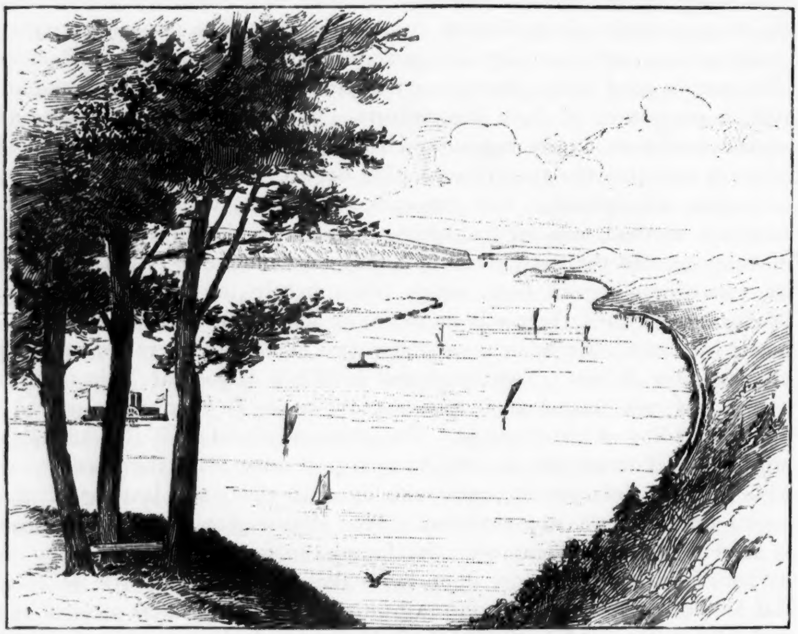
* The Apthorpe mansion is still standing at the corner of Ninety-first Street and Ninth Avenue, and with numerous surrounding structures of a temporary character, and a portion of its guard of ancient forest trees, is known as Elm Park, a pleasure resort of the Germans.

intentions, and was not disturbed in his home. Washington knew him personally, and had confidence in his integrity; and he made this house his head-quarters in the stirring days after the battle of Long Island, while preparing to withdraw his feeble army from New York. It was under this roof that the secret expedition of Nathan Hale into the enemy's camp, for trustworthy information, was cautiously planned late on Saturday night, the 14th of that memorable September. During the afternoon news had come that large numbers of the British soldiery were quartered on the islands near the mouth of the Harlem River, and Washington, already in his saddle, galloped in hot haste to Harlem Heights to inspect the situation, for that was the contemplated halting-ground of his retiring forces. He well knew how simple and easy a thing it would be for the enemy to cut off this avenue of escape—and there was no other. Four British men-of-war had anchored in the East River, nearly opposite Apthorpe's, the day before. With what keen anxiety the Hudson was watched for a similar occupation we can well imagine. The fate of America hung by so slender a thread at that crisis that it might have been snapped at a score of points. The British commanders were slow and unspeakably obtuse not to have discovered their opportunity. Had they possessed but a fraction of the force and far-sightedness of Washington, they would have captured the whole American army with one stroke, and there would have been no Union to have raised up in the nineteenth century another great military giant in General Grant.

A few brief passages in connection with the retreat of the American army on this occasion will illustrate the foregoing statement. It was obvious that the city was untenable. The British thus far had abstained from firing upon it, because they wished to seize, not destroy, the richest town in America. Then came the inevitable diversity of opinion among the American officers and the men who represented the new government. "There is no object to be gained by holding New York," said one; "burn it and its suburbs and go to the mountains," said another; while Generals Heath, Spencer, and George Clinton, with unflinching nerve, voted every time to hold the point it had cost so much to fortify at all hazards. At a final council of war, on the 12th of September, after Congress had signified its willingness to leave the vexed question to the discretion of Washington, ten generals voted to evacuate, and the three above-named to defend. Then came the hurried preparations of the following two days. Both soldiers and citizens worked day and night as men can only work in the presence of a rapidly approaching calamity. The British were changing position on Long Island, and their guns could be heard. Carts were laden

with military stores and driven on a run to the small boats, which, with the important freight, crept along the shore to Kingsbridge; or the carts were dragged, when horses could be procured, by land over the winding thirteen-mile-long road to the same point. Forts were dismantled, bells removed from the churches and secreted, brass knockers stored away in safe places, and families who were to leave with the troops packed their effects as far as practicable, and buried their silver and valuables deep in the earth. The Beekmans, whose handsome home on the East River subsequently became the head-quarters of the British commander, buried a large quantity of choice silver and some very rare porcelain in their grounds, which were exhumed in good order after peace was restored eight years later, and are still in possession of their descendants. The removal of the sick and wounded soldiers, numbering several thousand, consumed much time, and in every direction the most exasperating delays occurred from the scarcity of proper conveyances. Yet the varied work was conducted with consummate method, and men unschooled in war exhibited the self-control of veterans. In the early dawn of Sunday morning, the 15th, three British men-of-war spread their wings triumphantly in the waters of the Hudson. Of course there was no more transportation of stores and equipments by water. An hour or two later five men-of-war were seen passing up the East River. They anchored in Kip's Bay, near Thirty-fourth Street, and commenced an incessant cannonading to "scour the ground" for the landing of their troops. The principal division of the American army under Putnam was ordered to retreat at once from the lower town, while several detachments were employed to delay the landing of the enemy until this was accomplished. That Washington should have been in a frenzy of excitement when he found the red-coated foe driving in his handful of troops before it at Kip's Bay is a matter of little wonder. But he did not throw his hat on the ground or lose his head, as some of our early writers would have us believe. He ordered the retreat to be continued, and spurred away to provide for the safety of Harlem Heights, as the enemy might land in that vicinity also. The day was excessively hot, the roads were darkened by clouds of dust, the soldiers were all on foot—only officers were mounted—and the overcrowded wagons were insufficient in numbers for the families and their baggage. Much of the provision and all the heavy guns were left behind, and the smaller cannon were dragged chiefly by hand. The column was two miles long, and comprised about three thousand five hundred persons, none of whom had breakfasted, or had any sleep for twenty-four hours. About thirty minutes after it passed out of sight on the Broadway road, above what is now the Astor House,

Silliman and Knox, who had been left to guard the city until the other troops could be withdrawn, were ordered to follow with their commands, and at Bayard's Hill, just above Canal street, saw the British land at Kip's Bay. The effort to escape without a collision seemed absolutely hopeless. The column worked its weary way to the westward, through cross-roads and in the woods, until it reached the old Bloomingdale highway, thence onward, and toward sunset passed the Hoagland house, and down the lane



NORTHERN VIEW FROM THE CLAREMONT BLUFF.

to the Kingsbridge road. At this point it was attacked by a detachment of British soldiers, who were beaten off by Silliman with his three hundred guards. It soon began to rain, and a cold wind came up. At a late hour of the night the tired marchers made their beds upon the wet ground of Harlem Heights, drenched, and chilled to the bone. Washington had remained at the Apthorpe mansion until the column safely passed it, and then rode to the Roger Morris house, now known as the Jumel mansion, three miles above. The British generals, in the gayest humor, about an hour later rode leisurely up to the Apthorpe mansion, and were courteously received

by the affable and genial host, and consigned to the same apartments which Washington and his staff had just vacated. Their well-disciplined warriors encamped that night in the fields to the north, even to the very brow of the heights overlooking the hollow at Manhattanville. The next morning the rattle of musketry and the roar and smoke of guns in this vicinity told the story of an open-field conflict, in which the flower of the British soldiery "broke and ran," chased by the Americans "for nearly two miles." It was the first victory of the patriots, and it exerted a wider influence over subsequent events than any other one battle of the Revolution. At evening of that same day, September 16, the two belligerent armies occupied the same relative positions as before the battle, the British on Bloomingdale Heights and the Americans on Harlem Heights, their pickets almost within speaking distance of each other across the Manhattanville Valley. And thus they remained for upwards of three weeks.

Both the General and Lord Howe, and their brilliant corps of noblemen officers, among whom was Lord Cornwallis, also Lord Percy, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, took many an observation of the site of the American encampment on the other heights, from the beautiful bluff where General Grant has been so tenderly buried. General Howe wrote to the ministry of England, "the enemy is too strongly posted to be attacked in front, and innumerable difficulties are in the way of turning him upon either side." Meantime the Americans converted Fort Washington into a fortress of considerable strength; and two hundred men were vigorously employed at night in loading vessels with stone, in pursuance of General Putnam's ingenious design, and sinking them in the channel opposite One Hundred and Eighty-third Street, to obstruct the passage of British ships up the Hudson, but all in vain. Both armies looked covetously for two consecutive weeks down upon Harlem Flats, where hay and grain in large quantities lay unmolested. Finally, Washington sent several hundred men with wagons to garner it in; a covering party approached the British, who manned their lines in anticipation of an attack. The two hostile forces stood and blinked at each other, but neither fired a shot. The expert Americans meanwhile accomplished their harvesting, and both parties retired laughing within their lines.

Thirteen years later, when the seat of the national government was in New York, and Washington the first President of the young Republic, one of his most favorite drives, of which frequent mention is made in his notebook, was "the fourteen miles round," the route being over the old Bloomingdale road to this high bluff, thence across to the Kingsbridge and Old Boston roads in returning. Nearly every pleasant day the President's

chariot and six horses (attended by two secretaries on horseback) were on this drive, as also many other imposing equipages, it being the fashionable drive of the New Yorkers for many decades. During the controversy in Congress over the site of the permanent seat of government, Washington was incessantly active and observant. These heights on the Hudson, Westchester, and portions of Long Island, were from time to time suggested as suitable localities for the proposed district. On one occasion, while that question was still pending, a pleasure party was inaugurated to drive to Bloomingdale and Harlem Heights ostensibly to visit the battlefields, but chiefly to discuss the fine views from the picturesque elevations. The party consisted of President Washington and the gentlemen of his family, Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Lear, the children, Vice-President and Mrs. John Adams, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of the Treasury and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, and Secretary of War and Mrs. Knox.

Doctor Hugh Williamson, member of Congress from North Carolina, and one of the Framers of the Constitution, who married in the winter of 1789 a daughter of Mr. Apthorpe, now resided with his wife's family in the Apthorpe mansion, and drove into town to attend Congress every morning. The distinguished Judge Iredell often returned with him in the afternoon to discuss politics and the climate of America, the learned doctor being then engaged in the preparation of his celebrated octavo volume on the subject.*

The property embracing the plateau where the tomb is located was purchased by Doctor Post in the beginning of this century, who built for a private summer residence the historic edifice now used as a restaurant, and named it "Claremont." From the mansion the whole promontory came to be known as "Claremont Hill." A drive-way on the line of Washington's old bridle-path, with trees on each side, connected it with the Bloomingdale road, a few rods distant. This house has been an object of romantic interest for nearly fourscore years. Viscount Courtenay, afterwards Earl of Devon, lived in it for some time soon after the beginning of the century. He is supposed to have left England on account of political troubles. He was a handsome bachelor, with fortune, title, and reputation, and created a sensation in the social circles of New York whenever he made his appearance. He was greatly disturbed with the events preceding

* One of Mr. Apthorpe's daughters married Mr. Vandenheuvel, who at that time lived in a beautiful country seat on the bank of the Hudson at Seventy-ninth Street. Their daughter married John C. Hamilton, the son of Alexander Hamilton. Many of the lots at Bloomingdale which belonged to the Apthorpe estate are now owned by the Hamilton family.

the war of 1812, and as soon as hostilities were actually declared sailed for England, leaving his furniture and costly plate to be sold at auction. He has been of late credited with having built the little monument standing entirely alone under the trees on the river bank near by, but as he had not taken up his abode at Claremont until after the date of the child's death, the pretty well-told story needs revision. The inscription on one side of the lone monument reads: "Erected to the memory of an amiable child,

"THE GRANGE."

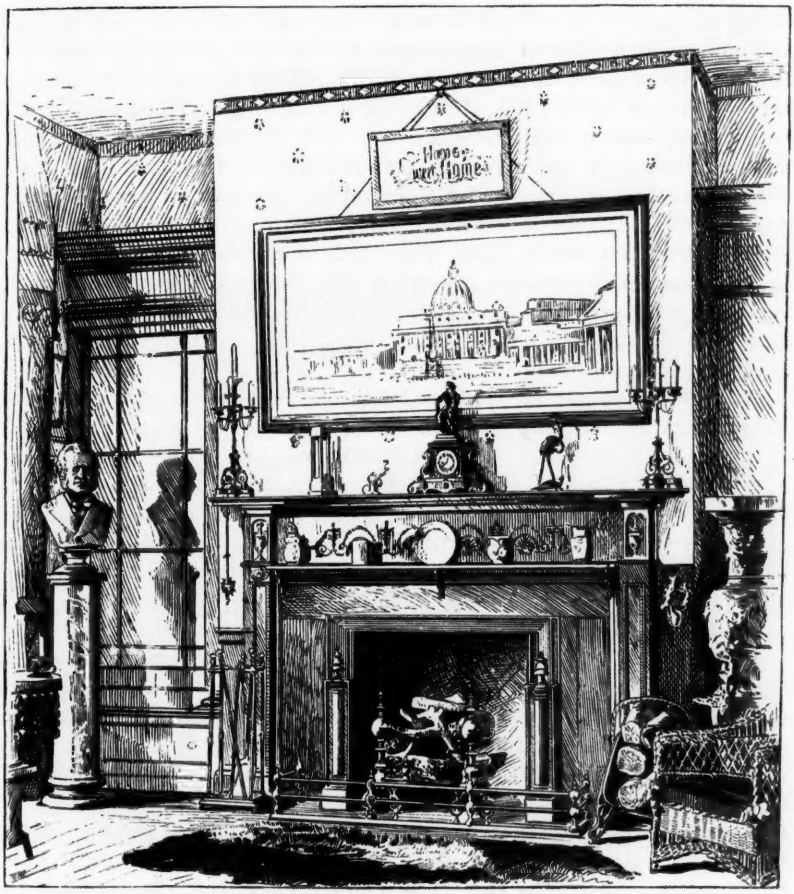
Home of Alexander Hamilton.

St. Clair Pollock, died July 15, 1797, in the 5th year of his age." And on the other side is a familiar quotation.* The British Minister, Francis James Jackson, the successor of Mr. Erskine, resided at Claremont also for a

* Nine families of Pollocks resided in New York at that time; five merchants bearing the name were actively engaged in business in the lower part of the city, two of whom owned property along the Hudson. Carlile Pollock in 1792, and for a few subsequent years, is known to have held a joint interest in the handsome Cyrus Clark estate on Riverside Park at Ninetieth street; and he is believed to have owned landed property in the vicinity of the tomb. He met with reverses, and the records tell us that in 1799 Carlile Pollock and Sophia his wife mortgaged several lots at Greenwich and "other points on the river" to Cornelius Ray, Gabriel Furman, and John McVickar; and these lots were advertised to be sold at auction February 17, 1800.

time. He was known as "Copenhagen Jackson" because of his participation in measures for the seizure of the Danish fleet by the British at Copenhagen, and was politically and socially extremely unpopular, singularly in contrast with the polished and accomplished Courtenay. The next consequential inhabitant of Claremont was Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, the eldest brother of Napoleon I. He occupied the house when he first reached the United States in 1815, after the downfall of the Emperor. He had displayed considerable ability in the course of his peculiar career; he negotiated the treaty of Lunéville with Austria in 1801, and that of Amiens with England in 1802; he ascended the throne of Naples in 1806, and was transferred to the throne of Spain in 1808. Yet he never seemed ambitious of public honors. He was a gentlemanly, well-educated man, fond of books, art, and society, and to all outward appearances contented in opulent retirement. He subsequently resided in Bordentown, New Jersey, under the name of Count de Survilliers.

About the same time that Doctor Post was improving Claremont, Alexander Hamilton was building a country seat about a mile to the north of it on Harlem Heights, which he called "The Grange," from the ancestral seat of his grandfather in Scotland. It was a square frame dwelling of two stories, with large, roomy basement, ornamental balustrades, and immense chimney-stacks. Its apartments were large and numerous, and all its workmanship substantial. One quaint feature was its drawing-room doors, which were old-fashioned mirrors. He removed with his family to this home in 1802, embellished the grounds with flowers and shrubbery, and planted the thirteen gum trees—represented in the sketch—naming them respectively after the thirteen original States of the Union. A short time prior to this, Judge Brockholst Livingston, the son of Governor William Livingston of New Jersey, the famous war governor of the Revolution, built a country seat about the same distance below Claremont, on the bank of the Hudson at Ninetieth street. It was a large, square, roomy mansion with broad verandas, the eastern and western fronts, like the Apthorpe House, being exactly alike. Judge Livingston was the brother-in-law of Chief Justice John Jay, who was a familiar visitor, adding another to the illustrious company who have contributed towards making Riverside Park historic ground. This house has been preserved with generous care, and all its antique interior ornamentation remains intact. The property has been for many years owned and occupied by Mr. Cyrus Clark. It was a part of the Apthorpe domain, in the Revolutionary period, which extended from his house to the river's edge. Two immense double tulip-trees, known to be at least one hundred and fifty years old—historic trees, planted here



LIBRARY OF THE OLD LIVINGSTON HOUSE.

before the war—spread their branches over the smooth lawn between the house and Riverside drive in a picturesque fashion, while shade trees of many varieties hover in groups elsewhere, rendering the place one of the choicest relics of the olden period to be found in the vicinity.

This site formed also a part of the great De Lancey estate prior to the Revolution. Oliver De Lancey was an intimate friend of Mr. Apthorpe, and one of the twelve counselors to the royal governor, appointed by the king. He was a brother of Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey, the

acting governor of New York for many years, and one of the most brilliant and popular men who ever administered the affairs of the colony under the crown. His property adjoined that of Mr. Apthorpe, and, in like manner, extended to the river's edge. The house was an irregular, roomy old structure—dating back to the time when New York gentlemen, in going to dinners or theaters in full dress, carried their hats in their hands, in order not to disturb their curls—and it stood on an elevation at about Eighty-sixth street and Riverside drive. Its appointments were elegant; rare pictures graced its walls, costly glass and silver filled its sideboards, and black servants in livery, with colors and shoulder-knots, seemed countless about the premises. It was a courtly home, the resort socially of the refinement and wealth of the city, and the scene of many a festive gathering of lordly personages from over the water.

When the war of the Revolution broke out, De Lancey entered the British army as a brigadier-general. Near the close of that terrible year of battles, 1777, on a cold night late in November, a party of Americans, in retaliation for some of the atrocities perpetrated by the British soldiers in their forays into the country about New York, came down the Hudson in a whale-boat at midnight, surprised and captured the small guard at the landing at the foot of the ravine, climbed the steep bank with silent tread, and applied the torch to the De Lancey mansion, burning it to the ground with all it contained. The ladies of the family fled in their night-clothing. Mrs. De Lancey being too feeble to run very far, concealed herself in a stone dog-kennel. Her daughter Charlotte, a girl of sixteen, afterward the wife of Sir David Dundas, K.C.B., and her guest, Miss Elizabeth Floyd, of about the same age—afterward the wife of John Peter De Lancey and mother of Bishop De Lancey—escaped into a swamp, where they concealed themselves among the thickest bushes they could find until morning, with no covering for head or feet, or wrap of any sort to protect them from the biting cold. Miss De Lancey seized her brother's infant in her flight, holding it safely in her arms the whole night. They were discovered in the morning and taken to Mr. Apthorpe's house and tenderly nursed. Oliver De Lancey's eldest daughter, Mrs. John Harris Cruger, ran in another direction, and losing herself in the woods, wandered about continually through the night, finding herself when morning dawned nearly seven miles away and near a farm-house, where she was received and treated kindly. The De Lancey house was never rebuilt, and the princely estate was confiscated at the close of the war. Thus when peace came, a new chapter in property ownership commenced, as we have seen, on these flowery heights.

Upon the map of the street commissioners of 1811 we obtain a better idea

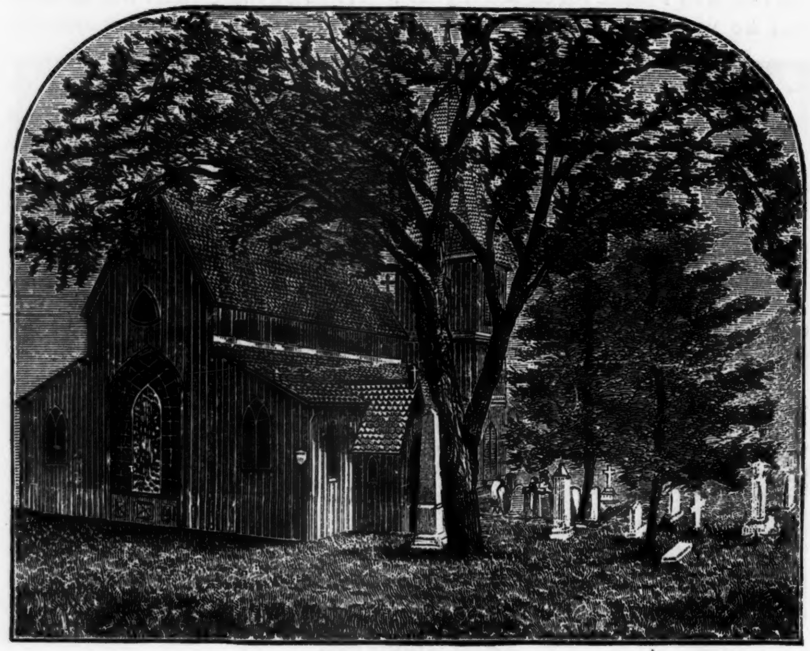
of the residents of the villas at Bloomingdale in the beginning of this century than in pages of elaborate description. Among these are the Clarksons, Van Horns, Woolseys, Beekmans, De Peysters, Lawrences, and Livingstons. The old Somerindyke house, near Seventy-fifth street, was long an object of interest through its association with the romantic history of the gentle, unassuming, but eloquent and accomplished Louis Philippe in this country, who taught school in it. He subsequently wore the crown of France for eighteen years. While dwelling under this modest roof he was joined by his two brothers, Duke de Montpensier and the

THE OLD LIVINGSTON HOUSE.

Riverside Park and Ninetieth street.

Count de Beaujolais, and was visited by Lord Lyndhurst, afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, and by the Duke of Kent, son of George III. and father of Queen Victoria—who was in New York at the time. At a frugal dinner given by Louis Philippe on one occasion, he apologized to his guests for seating a part of them on the side of a bed, remarking that he "had himself occupied less comfortable places without the consolation of agreeable company." According to tradition, the three exile princes were accustomed to ramble every afternoon up the shady Bloomingdale road to

the high bluffs, to watch the setting sun. The house thus occupied was on the line of the Broadway Boulevard, which a few years since swept it away. A portion of the Somerindyke estate was included in the Fernando Wood property, which he purchased and improved about 1844. He built a substantial dwelling-house upon it, which was his home during his mayoralty of New York. In 1860 he entertained the Prince of Wales with something very akin to royal magnificence at this country mansion. No-



ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH AND CHURCH-YARD.

The oldest church property at Bloomingdale.

where in America did the young Prince meet such a brilliant gathering of notable people, or behold appointments of greater elegance and in better taste than in this delightful summer residence of the Mayor of the metropolis. In driving with the Prince of Wales to places of interest, it is said that no point visited elicited more unqualified admiration from him than the view from Claremont. The superbly shaded grounds in the rear of Mayor Wood's residence then extended to the Hudson's edge, while the

broad, pretentious frontage of the place, covering a full block, was on the old Bloomingdale road, now the Boulevard.

A little farther on, about Eighty-sixth street, was a charming cottage built at the close of the Revolution by Doctor Charlton, an English surgeon of distinction, who came to New York with the British army and married into the De Peyster family. He was a short, stout man, of florid complexion, who had been much at the court of George III., and brought to this country various relics of his court life that are still preserved. His name appears in connection with many worthy New York charities, and he was for years a trustee of the City Dispensary. A little to the west of his house, and overlooking the water, was the mansion of the McVickars, built by the great merchant and shipowner, John McVickar. He was a tall, sharp-featured, courtly man, with a kindly eye, a smile of singular sweetness, and a mouth and chin indicative of an unbending will. He was noted for his public spirit in building churches, and was constantly aiding the clergy, as well as unobtrusively assisting deserving young merchants in trouble. His wife was the first cousin of Bishop Moore. He had nine children, to all of whom he gave a liberal education and the benefit of a tour through Europe. His son Archibald married the daughter of his neighbor on the Hudson, Judge Brockholst Livingston, and his daughter Augusta married Judge William Jay, the son of the Chief Justice and the nephew of Judge Brockholst Livingston. Near Ninety-third street, in the Boulevard, is the old country house of Doctor Valentine Mott, one of the boldest and most successful surgical operators of any age or country—a house which was the scene of his death in 1865, at the age of eighty. West of this, and fronting Riverside drive, is the Schieffelin house, famous for being the residence of General Daniel E. Sickles at the most interesting period of his life.

There are numerous churches of various denominations in the immediate vicinity of Riverside Park at the present time. St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church, established in 1807, on the old Bloomingdale road at One Hundredth street is the oldest. The ground upon which the church edifice is built was a grant from Queen Anne. The little church-yard about it, long since unused, records the names of many of the early worshipers within its walls, such as Delafield, Armstrong, Hazard, Fleming, Field, Perrin, De Peyster, Livingston, Wagstaff, and Richmond. Rev. William Richmond, who died in 1858, was thirty-three years rector of the church. Rev. Thomas M. Peters, D.D., has been rector since 1850, a period of thirty-five years. In the west end of the church is a memorial window to Mr. William H. Guest, who was twenty-two years superintendent of the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum at One Hundred and Tenth street,

built in 1842 in the center of a twenty-six-acre lot. The New York Asylum for the Insane, built in 1821, with forty acres surrounding, is between One Hundred and Twelfth and One Hundred and Fifteenth streets.

The history of the origin of Riverside Park is a curious chapter in itself. When the commissioners of 1807 were apppointed to lay out New York city from Houston street to the Harlem River, they adopted the right-angled plan of parallel streets intersecting parallel avenues of equal width, from river to river, without the slightest reference to shore lines or surface variations. Along the Bloomingdale shore such was the configuration of the land that the line of Thirteenth avenue was six hundred feet out into the river. The time came eventually when streets and avenues had had their day on paper and must actually be constructed on the soil, but in the mean time the legislature had enacted that there should be no filling in beyond two hundred feet from shore. Thus Thirteenth avenue was stricken off the map and ceased to exist. Twelfth avenue was left as the exterior line. This, however, proved even more difficult to adjust than the other, for its site fell upon the steep side of the bluff, about midway between the base and the crest, and excavation through solid rock at enormous cost would be necessary for its construction. The corporation brain was sorely puzzled. The ex-commissioners of 1807 were anathematized for their short-sightedness. The idea of converting the belt of picturesque precipice into an ornamental city park first found expression in a little pamphlet of forty-nine pages, written in 1865 by Mr. William R. Martin. The subject was henceforward persistently agitated, as the bluff would neither admit of streets, right angles, or avenue; and a topographical map was compiled on a scale sufficiently large to show the principal features of the area in question. The ground-work of Central Park was about that time completed, and Mr. Andrew H. Green and others gave critical attention to the subject. In the winter of 1866 a bill, with much caution, was introduced in the legislature, and passed with little opposition, making it the duty of the Central Park Commissioners to cause a survey to be made of this area and prepare a report of the same. The next spring (in 1867) this report, accompanied with maps, was submitted to the legislature, and after an intelligent exposition of the subject, the committee on municipal affairs agreed to report the bill, which, with a few amendments, became a law on the 24th of April. Under that law Riverside avenue was to be on the top of the bluff, about midway between Eleventh and Twelfth avenues, one hundred feet wide, and the Park was to occupy the slope toward the river. The city immediately thereafter instituted measures to acquire title to the land for public use,

which occupied five well rounded years. In 1872 the report of the Commissioners of Estimates and Assessments was confirmed by the Supreme Court, and that struggle ended. The total value of the land taken was assessed at $6,174,120.80, of which $3,104,479 was assessed upon the adjacent property. The construction of the avenue was to begin at once; but when surveys were made it was found expedient to consider the question of important changes in the plan, which involved legislative action that was not accomplished until 1873. Two years more passed and a design was absolutely made ready, but for power to raise funds necessary to commence operations, still another appeal to the legislature was in order. In 1876 (chapter 447) the comptroller was directed by the legislature to pay therefor by the issue of bonds, which thereafter were to be redeemed by the assessment of the expense upon the property benefited by the improvement. At the same time, and by the same act, the legislature established the legal status of the avenue by enacting that "(Sec. 2) the whole of the land embraced within the boundaries of Riverside avenue is hereby declared to be one of the parks and public places in the city of New York, and shall be under the control and management of the Department of Parks of said city, subject to the provisions of the first section of this act in respect to the roadways, curb and gutter and sidewalks therein mentioned." In September of that year the Department of Parks advertised for bids for the entire work required, and upon the coming in of the bids the contract was awarded to Nicholas H. Decker, who began operations in the spring of 1877. In the fall of 1879, after many sharp contests with the department concerning the details of the fulfillment of the contract, the work of Decker was substantially completed. But the department was not satisfied, and refused to accept the work as the performance of the contract. Decker could not collect the residue of the contract price, and, in self-protection, closed the avenue, refusing to allow the public to drive over it. He obstructed all the entrances by placing across them large derricks used for lifting stones, and boarded up each of the intersecting streets, strengthening the barricades with tool-houses, piles of stone, etc., and employed a guard of watchmen to prevent their being disturbed. The innocent and long-suffering property owners along the line of the park were indignant, but all applications to the Park Department for redress of grievances proved fruitless. In the spring of 1880 the claim of Decker seemed farther than ever from settlement, and the residents were clamorous for the opening of the drive. Refused by the city departments and the contractor, they finally took the law into their own hands, and opened it themselves in the night. A few days before this somewhat remarkable

occurrence, a suit was brought against the city and the contractor by one of the property owners for $10,000 damages, and for an injunction restraining the defendants from placing any further obstructions on the drive, or maintaining those already placed. The injunction was granted by Judge Lawrence, and duly served upon the parties concerned. The same night a body of men, supposed to number at least one hundred, under command, entered the avenue quietly at Seventy-second street, and before three o'clock in the morning of May 7 had removed every obstruction. The huge derricks were tumbled over the parapets, heavy pieces of timber were tossed down the embankment, tool-houses and fences met with the same swift removal, and the drive was open. About ten o'clock in the forenoon the police observed carriages rolling along over the forbidden ground to their utter amazement, having slept soundly through the night and known nothing of the rapid and effectual work being accomplished so near them. In attempting to check further travel they were curtly informed that the Supreme Court had ordered that no obstructions should be placed on the road. Nobody knew, and no one seemed to care to know, who had been chiefly instrumental in the achievement, and from that date, although there was some litigation, Riverside drive has been open for public use.

Like all great enterprises, this park and drive have cost effort, energy, and persistence on the part of individuals that can never be measured or appreciated. Those who devised the scheme and those who have striven for twenty years to overcome the obstacles to its successful completion, deserve the everlasting gratitude of the community. The bewildering beauties of the drive have within the past few weeks been proclaimed to the ends of the earth—and they cannot be exaggerated. New York may well be proud of such a possession. The unique park which its drive overlooks is heavily wooded, for the most part with native forest trees of great age and gigantic dimensions. At a few points along its course the hand of the landscape gardener is visible; but ornamental park features are less conspicuous than the sparkling river through the trees and the most captivating of views beyond. In behalf of the multitudes who will breathe this exhilarating air for the first time in the weeks and months in the near future, and seek information concerning the points of interest on the way to their Mecca, the following brief paragraph is written: Entering Riverside Park at Seventy-second street, two blocks only are passed ere you reach the Orphan Asylum, founded in 1806 by the ladies of New York, of whom was Mrs. Rev. Dr. Bethune, her mother, Mrs. Isabella Graham, Mrs. Sarah Hoffman, the first directress of the institution, Mrs. John McVickar, Mrs. Coster, and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, widow of the

great statesman and financier, who succeeded Mrs. Hoffman as first directress—an office she filled acceptably many years. The asylum is a stone edifice, built in the center of a ten-acre lot. It was an outgrowth of the "Society for the Relief of Poor Widows and Small Children," founded in 1797. The estate of Mr. Perit, one of the promoters of this excellent charity, adjoins the asylum in the next block above. At the corner of Eighty-fifth street is the old Howland place, now the House of Mercy, of the Episcopal Sisterhood. Any explorer with antiquarian tastes will be struck with the evidences of former cultivation in this particular locality, between the Boulevard and the Park, through its great variety of aged fruit and ornamental trees. On the corner north-east of Eighty-sixth street, high above the drive, is the residence of Mr. Leopold Eidlitz. This property is very nearly on the site of the Oliver De Lancey mansion, burned in 1777. At the corner of Eighty-eighth street is the handsome suburban home of General Egbert L. Viele, late president of the Park Commissioners, whose taste and energy have done much toward projecting and pushing forward important improvements. Nearly opposite Eighty-ninth street is the statue of Washington, from Houdon, erected by the school children of the city in 1884. At Ninetieth street, shaded by its magnificent ancestral trees, stands the old Livingston mansion, before mentioned, whose owner, Mr. Cyrus Clark, has been one of the most effective forces during the last twenty years in achieving the results which are spread out so enchantingly before the eye. On the block above is the old Schieffelin house, in which General Sickles lived; and with a graceful sweep of the drive you reach the old Stryker house at Stryker's Bay, faded and weather-worn, with a curious history of its own. It was at Stryker's Bay that the Egyptian obelisk was landed a few years ago. From here the drive rises, passing through the center of the Park for some seven blocks; at One Hundred and Fourth street begins the Bloomingdale Mile, a smooth, level terrace, the avenue broadening to a width of two hundred feet, with four rows of elm trees dividing two carriage drives, two equestrian roads, and a promenade. This was planned to correspond with the Ladies' Mile, or Rotten Row, in Hyde Park. Among the numerous dwellings on the high ground bordering the east side of this portion of the Park are the Furness houses, the Dixon place, the residence of James A. Deering, Esq., and that of Mr. John Brower. And now you have reached the plateau where a nation's dead has been tenderly laid to rest, and where a nation's highest officers were among the chief mourners.

The horse-cars on the Broadway Boulevard are only a short walking distance from Riverside Park along its entire three miles of length, and

their route is one of peculiar historic interest. From these cars visitors are enabled to ascend the bluff to the grave by an easy walk of less than two city blocks. Steamers are already beginning to land at Manhattanville, from where the high point can be reached in a few moments. And yet such is the quiet and seclusion of the place, that with the Hudson River Railroad at its base on one side, and both surface and elevated cars on the other, not one of the public thoroughfares can be seen from the site of the tomb, and the stillness is rarely broken by a sound from the hurrying, bustling world. The thanks of America are due to the mayor of New York city, William R. Grace, and the president of the Park Commissioners, John D. Crimmins, for the consummate discretion with which they directed notice to this spot, now universally acknowledged as the most appropriate on the continent for the purpose to which it is consecrated.

With its historic background—its memories of Washington, of great generals, statesmen, jurists, kings, princes, and noblemen—with its deep blue historic river and stretch of picturesque scenery as far as the eye can reach, and under fair skies, the latest and most unspeakably impressive chapter in the history of Riverside Park has just been written upon the human heart. Such a scene as was witnessed here on Saturday, August 8, 1885, could only have been produced by one event—the burial of General Grant. In no other age or country, and in homage to no other individual who has lived within the century, would such a demonstration in its principal features have been possible. The funereal pageant, as the hero-soldier was borne aloft to his resting place from the City Hall, was colossal in its proportions. Nothing approaching it in magnitude, solemnity or grandeur ever occurred before in the history of the world. It was not imposed on the public by any precedent; it was the spontaneous outcome of the national regard for a man whose generalship had perpetuated the Republic, and who had twice been its President. All business was suspended. Buildings were shrouded in heavy black from one end of the city to the other. Minute guns were fired as the procession moved, and tolling bells fell softly upon the ear. Probably not less than one million of people lined the streets through which it passed, or saw it from windows, balconies, and house-tops. Of regular and State troops and veterans, some thirty thousand were in line; and in addition to all this military brilliancy, the civic organizations numbered from ten to twenty thousand more. The column was about five miles long. The catafalque, in solid black, the casket covered with purple velvet resting upon it in full view beneath the canopy, was drawn by twenty-four beautiful large black horses, each with a sable groom clinging closely to the bit. Following in closed carriages

were the sorrowing family of the General, and his old staff and Cabinet; then came the President of the United States and his premier in a phaeton drawn by six horses, and the Vice-President and the Cabinet, the ex-Presidents of the Republic and former Cabinets, the judges of the United States Supreme Court, the United States Senate, the Speaker and House of Representatives, the ministers from at least eight foreign countries, the governors of seventeen States, with their staffs, and large representatives from their legislatures, and the mayors and aldermen of a dozen cities. The names of those present would almost form a catalogue of the distinguished men of the nation. The hundreds of carriages after entering Riverside Park moved three and four abreast over the clear, smooth roadway.

But by far the most significant feature of the occasion, and that which will above all others pass into imperishable history, was the meeting of the North and the South in one united brotherhood at the bier of the conqueror. The prominent leaders of both the victorious and the conquered armies were associate pall-bearers; those who fought each other bravely a score of years ago rode side by side on the staff of the commanding officer of the day; and troops from Virginia and Georgia marched in successive files with the troops from Massachusetts, Minnesota, Connecticut, and the District of Columbia. Through General Grant, sectional divisions have forever ceased. The power and charm of his dying summons to the soldier of the South consummated his greatest and grandest achievement.

The affecting scene at his tomb will never be forgotten. The bared and bowed heads of those who were grouped immediately about the temporary vault during the last solemn exercises were nearly all silvered—some white as snow. Each one had personal knowledge of the traits which marked the superiority of General Grant to the average man—the will-power, self-poise, and tranquillity of mind that enabled him to master the most entangled or critical of military and other situations, and the magnanimity of soul by which success could be turned into permanent glory. The clergy stood near the head of the casket; the pall-bearers on either side—Generals Sherman and Sheridan, U.S.A., Admirals Porter and Rowan, U.S.N., Generals Johnston and Buckner, C.S.A., George Jones, George W. Childs, George S. Boutwell, Joseph W. Drexel, Oliver Hoyt, and John A. Logan; in their proper places were the children and grandchildren, so near and dear to the dead soldier; President Cleveland and the gentlemen of his Cabinet, members of Grant's former Cabinet, ex-President Hayes and his former premier William M. Evarts, ex-Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman, ex-President Chester A. Arthur, Vice-President Hendricks, General Hancock, and hundreds upon hundreds of America's most distin-

guished statesmen, jurists, scholars, veterans of the late civil war, governors of States, mayors of cities, and leading citizens, nearly all of whose names have long been household words, clustered in one solid mass as closely as possible about the chief mourners, listening attentively to the beautiful ritual of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the burial service of the Methodist Church. Just outside this charmed circle the display of uniformed soldiery in the afternoon sunshine, its brilliancy heightened by the fresh green of the foliage on every side, and the acres of people in the distance—far away on the brow of the hill—was a thrilling spectacle. The New York Seventh Regiment skirted the bluff facing the tomb, like a white and silver fence, the New York Twenty-second Regiment continued an even line beyond, the marines fringed the driveway near the hotel, the artillery waited on the plain to the right, the regular infantry occupied innumerable vacant places, mounted officers and aids in gold and glitter sat motionless on their chargers, bending forward with uncovered heads to catch the words of the service, while the magnificent array of ships on the bosom of the noble river below seemed for the moment converted into living shapes with eyes and ears as well as tongues. The whole formed a picture full of beauty and meaning—a picture vivified by the spirit of a nation at peace with itself and all the world, an historic picture painted in colors that will deepen and brighten with each rolling year.

And the frame-work of the picture, embracing the whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was blended so harmoniously as to become, in effect, a part of the picture itself. Cities and towns were everywhere draped in mourning. Even the house at Appomattox, where Lee surrendered to Grant, was shrouded in black. The manifold occupations, amusements, and pursuits of fifty millions of people ceased for the day. Minute guns were fired and bells tolled at sunrise, and again at the moment the funeral procession moved from the City Hall towards Riverside Park, in cities far away, from Washington to Chicago, from Richmond to Vicksburg, from Boston to San Francisco. Military and civic processions and memorial services and ceremonies were in progress in all parts of the United States at the same time as in New York. In this majestic expression of a nation's sorrow a new era dawns in American history.

Martha J. Lamb

WASHINGTON'S FIRST PUBLIC SERVICE

Late in the year 1753, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, determined to send an envoy into the Ohio valley, to ascertain the precise condition of affairs there. He had learned that the French had effected a lodgment in the valley, a region to which the Virginians laid claim. The governor chose for his messenger George Washington, a youth of only twenty-one years, yet one whose genius, fortitude, and experience in woodcraft, pointed out as peculiarly well adapted to such a service. Already he was an adjutant-general of the Virginia soldiery, and had given intimations of that spirit which in after years was to raise him to an altitude never yet approached by any other man.

In his "Instructions" Washington was directed to proceed to Logstown,* and there inform himself as to the whereabouts of the French. Having gained this information, he was to proceed to the French posts, and deliver a letter from the governor to the chief commanding officer, and demand an answer thereto. At Logstown he was to address himself to the sachems of the Six Nations there, acquainting them with his orders, and desiring of them a sufficient escort for his enterprise. He was particularly to inquire into the numbers and force of the French on the Ohio, their resources, and the means of communication between the different points. He was further to take care to be truly informed what forts the French had erected, and where; how they were garrisoned and appointed, and what was their distance from each other, and from Logstown: and from the best information possible he was to learn what gave occasion to these inroads of the French; how they were likely to be supported, and what were their pretensions.

On the very day that he received his commission, Washington set out on his arduous journey. The next day he arrived at Fredericksburg, where he engaged Jacob Vanbraam as French interpreter, and with him proceeded to Alexandria, where he provided such things as he thought would be necessary. From Alexandria he proceeded to Winchester, where he procured baggage horses, and then took the road to Wills' Creek, where he arrived on the 14th of November. At this place he engaged that redoubtable backwoodsman, Christopher Gist, to act as guide to the expedition, and

* Logstown was an important Indian town on the right bank of the Ohio, at the distance of 18½ miles below the point at Pittsburg. Celoron, who visited it in 1749, calls it Chiningue.

hired four other men, Barnaby Currin and John McQuire, Indian traders, and Henry Steward and William Jenkins, to assist in the expedition. With this small party of six men, Washington "left the inhabitants the next day," November 15.

Already a great deal of snow had fallen, and this, with the excessive rains, rendered their progress so slow that they did not reach Frazier's house, at the mouth of Turtle Creek on the Monongahela River, till Thursday, the 22d of November. The streams had now become quite impassable, except by causing the horses to swim; hence the animals were relieved of the baggage, which was sent on by water in a canoe that they borrowed from Frazier. The canoe was put in charge of Currin and Steward; the rest of the party set forward with the horses. They had appointed to meet at the forks of the Ohio, about ten miles distant, the site of the present city of Pittsburg.

The party with the horses arrived at the rendezvous first. While awaiting the arrival of the canoe, Washington employed his leisure in making a careful observation of the place. He came to the conclusion that the land in the fork was "extremely well situated for a fort," as it had command of both rivers. "The land at the point is twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water," he writes in his Journal, "and a considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land all around it very convenient for building." Two miles below the point, on the left bank of the Ohio River, at what is now called McKee's Rocks, lived Shingiss, the King of the Delawares. The Ohio Company had determined to erect a fort here. Washington called upon Shingiss, and invited him to the council at Logstown. The chief complied with the invitation. While here, Washington made a thorough examination of the place with a view to its military importance. He concluded that it was greatly inferior, "either for defence or advantages," to the point. "A fort at the fork," he observes, "would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage, as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other place. Nature has well contrived this lower place for water defence," he continues; "but the hill whereon it must stand being a quarter of a mile in length, and then descending gradually on the land side, will render it difficult and very expensive to make a sufficient fortification there. The whole flat upon the hill must be taken in, the side next the descent made extremely high, or else the hill itself must be cut away; otherwise, the enemy may raise batteries within that distance without being exposed to a single shot from the fort."

Accompanied by Shingiss, Washington arrived at Logstown about five o'clock in the evening, November 24. Upon inquiry he found that the Half-King * was absent at his hunting cabin on Little Beaver Creek, about fifteen miles distant. Washington then at once called upon the chief, Monakatoocha. By means of John Davidson, an Indian interpreter, whom he probably found at Logstown, as he is not mentioned before, he informed the chief of his mission, and that he had been ordered to call upon the sachems of the Six Nations and acquaint them with it. He then made the chief a present of a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King and other sachems, which he promised to do in the morning. Consequently, about three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day the Half-King came to town. Washington at once went up and invited him privately, with Davidson, to his tent. The Half-King had recently made a journey to the French commandant, and Washington desired him to give the particulars of his visit, and an account of the ways and distance. He reported that his reception by the French commandant had been rather stern. In his speech to that officer the Half-King said: "We kindled a fire a long time ago, at a place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our land. I now desire you may dispatch to that place; for be it known to you, fathers, that this is our land and not yours." To this speech the French officer replied: "You need not put yourself to the trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of flies or mosquitoes, for Indians are such as those; I tell you, that down that river I will go, and build upon it, according to my command. If the river was blocked up, I have forces sufficient to burst it open and tread under my feet all that stand in opposition, together with their alliances; for my force is as the sand upon the seashore; therefore, here is your wampum; I sling it at you." The Half-King informed Washington that the nearest and most level way to the French fort was now impassable, by reason of many great swamps; that he would be obliged to go by way of Venango, and that he would not reach the nearest fort in less than five or six days' good traveling. Washington was very eager to set forward; but his Indian escort could not get off, and it was the 30th of the month when he finally left Logstown for the French fort. The Half-King at first proposed to send a guard of Mingoes, Shawanese, and Delawares, in order, as he said, "that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them;" but this design was after-

* The Half-King, sometimes called Tanacharison, was a warm friend of the English, and, if he had lived, would no doubt have proved a valuable ally in the troubles with the French. He died October 4, 1754.

ward changed, and Washington set off under a convoy of only three chiefs and one hunter. "The reason they gave," says Washington, "for not sending more, after what had been proposed at council, was, that a greater number might give the French suspicions of some bad design, and cause them to be treated rudely; but I rather think they could not get their hunters in."

However, about nine o'clock of the 30th, he started in company with the three chiefs, the Half-King, Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the hunter. Their way lay mainly in a diagonal line, more or less direct, through the present counties of Butler and Venango. In their way they were obliged to cross the Connoquenessing, Muddy Creek, Slippery Rock Creek, and Sandy Creek. It was the beginning of December. The weather was extremely rough, and the hardships of the journey must have been very great. One cannot but wonder at the hardihood, the resolution, and the courage of a young man of less than twenty-two years, who would face a journey through the wilderness at such a season, and we can find an equal to these high qualities only in the prudence, wisdom, and tact which characterized his dealings alike with the cautious Indian and the wily Frenchman. On the 4th of December the party arrived at Venango. Washington describes it as "an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French Creek, on Ohio; and lies near north about sixty miles from the Logstown, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go."

Here Washington met Captain Joncaire. He found him and two other French officers at a house upon which the French colors were flying. This house was one from which John Frazier, an English trader and gunsmith, had been driven by Celoron some years before. Washington immediately repaired to this house, to inquire where the French commander resided. Joncaire treated him very affably; told him that he, Joncaire, had command of the Ohio, but that there was a general officer at the near fort—Fort Le Bœuf—and advised him to apply there for an answer to Governor Dinwiddie's letter; and ended by inviting him to sup with him and his brother officers. "The wine," says Washington, "as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation, and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely." They told him, among other things, that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and they vowed their determination to do it; for though they were sensible the English could raise two men to their one, yet they knew the motions of the English were too slow and dilatory to prevent any enterprise that the French might undertake.

The next day it rained excessively, and Washington was prevented from resuming his journey. Meantime Joncaire had learned that the Half-King had come to the town in Washington's party, and pretended to be much concerned that Washington had not made free to bring him and the other sachems to the house. "I excused it in the best manner of which I was capable," says Washington, "and told him I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in dispraise of Indians in general. But another motive prevented me from bringing them into his company. I knew that he was an interpreter, and a person of great influence among the Indians, and had lately used all possible means to draw them over to his interest; therefore I was desirous of giving him no opportunity that could be avoided." However, Joncaire sent for the chiefs, and when they came in he expressed great pleasure at seeing them. He wondered, he said, how they could be so near without coming to visit him. He was quite effusive over them. He made them several trifling presents, and treated them so abundantly with fire-water that in a short time they were as drunk as possible, in spite of all of Washington's advice.

The artifices of Joncaire so influenced the chiefs that it was with great difficulty Washington could prevail upon them to proceed with him to the fort, and it was not until noon of the 7th that he finally induced them to set out. Monsieur La Force, commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, accompanied the party. The weather continued extremely unfavorable, and the way was through "mires and swamps," so that they did not arrive at Fort Le Bœuf until the 11th of December. Washington at once waited upon the commandant. This officer was an elderly man, a knight of the order of St. Louis. His name was Legardeur de St. Pierre. He had been in command at the fort but a few days when Washington arrived. To him Washington delivered his commission and letter.

As the snow continued to increase very fast, and the horses were every day becoming weaker from want of proper forage, on the 14th of the month Washington sent them off under the care of Currin and two others to Venango, with orders to await there the return of the party, if there should be a prospect of the river's freezing; if not, then to proceed to Shannopin's town, at the forks of the Ohio, and wait there for the party, who would go down by water. At the fort, as at Venango, every scheme was resorted to, to detain the Indians, and prevent them from returning with Washington. On the evening of the 14th Washington received an answer to Governor Dinwiddie's letter, and he prepared to depart the next morning. The commandant had furnished him with canoes, and the next day ordered a plentiful store of liquor, provisions, etc., to be put on board. He appeared

extremely complaisant, "though," says Washington, "he was exerting every artifice which he could invent to set our Indians at variance with us, to prevent their going until after our departure; presents, rewards, and everything which could be suggested by him or his officers." Washington went to St. Pierre, and remonstrated with him, and complained of ill-treatment: that detaining the Indians, since they were part of his company, was detaining him. St. Pierre protested he did not keep them, but that he was ignorant of the cause of their delay. The cause was not difficult to learn—he had promised them a present of guns, etc., if they would wait until the next morning. As the Indians were very desirous of remaining, Washington consented, on a promise that nothing should hinder them in the morning.

The next day, the 16th, the French renewed their attempts to detain the Indians still longer; but Washington held the Half-King so closely to his word that he at length set off as he had promised. The passage down the creek was very tedious and fatiguing. A number of times the canoes came near being staved against the rocks, and frequently all hands were obliged to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. Such had been the difficulties of the voyage that they did not reach Venango until the 22d. Here they found the horses waiting for them.

The next day Washington resumed his journey. "When I got things ready to set off," he says, "I sent for the Half-King to know whether he intended to go with us, or by water. He told me that White Thunder had hurt himself much, and was sick, and unable to walk; therefore, he was obliged to carry him down in a canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a day or two, and knew that Monsieur Joncaire would employ every scheme to set him against the English, as he had before done, I told him I hoped he would guard against his flattery, and let no fine speeches influence him in their favor. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the French too well for anything to engage him in their favor; and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavor to meet at the forks with Joseph Campbell, to deliver a speech for me to carry to his Honor the Governor. He told me he would order the Young Hunter to attend us, and get provision, etc., if wanted.

"Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require), that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and the others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walk-

ing dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his Honor the Governor, I determined to prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

"Accordingly, I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient dispatch in traveling.

"I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch coat. Then, with gun in hand, and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering town (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shannopin's town), we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had laid in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed.* We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stops, that we might get the start, so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our tracks as soon as it was light. The next day we continued traveling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shannopin's. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

"There was no way for getting over but on a raft; which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sunsetting. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it and set off, but before we were half-way over we were jammed in the ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting pole to try to stop the raft that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence

* The scene of this attempt upon the life of Washington is believed to have been in the present Forward township, in Butler County, Pennsylvania. Mr. Gist, who also kept a journal of the trip, says that Murdering town was "on the South-east Fork of Beaver Creek," by which he most likely means the Connoquenessing. "Traces of an Indian village were plainly visible upon this stream in the vicinity of Buhl's Mill, Forward township, when the country was settled, and many years later."—*History of Butler County*, p. 14, *note*.

against the pole that it jerked me out into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it. The cold was so extremely severe that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's."

The island upon which Washington and Mr. Gist spent that cold winter night is thought to have been a small island afterward called Wainwright's island. Mr. N. B. Craig, the historian of Pittsburg, investigated this point, and satisfied himself that it was not Herr's island, as some have thought. Wainwright's island lay near the left bank of the river, and the narrow channel between that and the shore might freeze in one night; but the wider passage between Herr's island and the left bank of the river could scarcely freeze over in the manner described in one night. Wainwright's island has long since entirely disappeared.

Washington was detained for some time at Mr. Frazier's, while waiting for horses with which to continue his journey; in the meantime he went up to the mouth of the Youghiogheny, where McKeesport now stands, to visit Aliquippa, the Indian queen, who had removed from her former residence at Shannopin's town. The old lady expressed great concern that Washington had passed her without calling when on his way to the Ohio. Washington placated her with a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum, "which latter," says he, "was thought much the better present of the two."

On Tuesday, the first day of January, 1754, a year ever since memorable as that in which began the long and bloody French and Indian war, Washington left Frazier's house, and on the seventh he arrived at Wills' Creek, after an absence of fifty-three days in the wilderness. The weather throughout had been bad, and the toils, dangers, and hardships of the expedition had been almost inconceivable. On the 16th of January he arrived at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, and waited upon the Governor, with the letter from the French commandant, and to give an account of his journey.

T. J. Chapman.

BALTIMORE IN 1861

No person of Northern birth who happened to be a resident of one of the border slave States in the early part of 1861 could fail to observe, that although many of the people loved the Union and deprecated anything tending to its disruption, yet a very large proportion of the population talked loudly about Southern rights, were avowed secessionists, or secretly sympathized with treason and rebellion. This feeling was greatly intensified after the threats of secession had become a reality, and nowhere was it more strongly manifested than in the State of Maryland.

INSTITUTE HALL, CHARLESTON, S. C.

Where the Secession Convention was held Dec. 20, 1861.

For thirty years the politicians of South Carolina had been discontented, and the election of Mr. Lincoln afforded them the pretext for casting off what they considered the yoke of the Union. On the 20th of December, 1860, the convention assembled at Institute Hall, in the City of Charleston, formally declared that the ordinance by which the State of South Carolina ratified the Constitution of the United States was repealed, and that the Union subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, was dissolved. This action was soon after followed by the States of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.

On the 11th day of April, the rebel batteries, which had been erected in Charleston harbor, opened fire upon Fort Sumter, and on the 14th, with the fort on fire, with ammunition and rations nearly exhausted, the garrison surrendered. The next day the President issued his proclamation

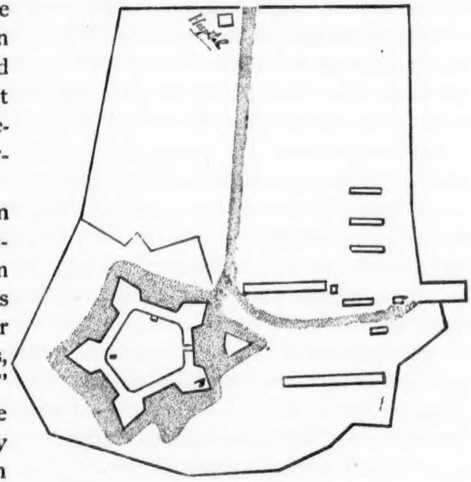
calling into the service of the United States seventy-five thousand of the State militia, to suppress the rebellion of the seven seceding States.

The governors of Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri positively and insultingly refused to furnish any men for that purpose, and soon after, the four first-named States formally seceded from the Union, and became part and parcel of the rebellion. In Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri a large proportion of the people espoused the cause of the seceding States, and furnished a great number of soldiers to the ranks of the rebel army. In all of the free States the call of the President was enthusiastically received, and the quota immediately filled.

In the month of January, 1861, the writer of this paper being absent on sick-leave from his regiment, stationed at the time in the Territory of New Mexico, received an order to report for duty at Fort Columbus in New York harbor, which was then used as the general recruiting depot of the army. The superintendent and commandant was Major Theophilus H. Holmes, of the 8th Regiment of Infantry, a native of North Carolina, and the second officer in rank was Captain Edward Johnson, of the 6th Regiment of Infantry, a native of Kentucky. As my rank entitled me to precedence over Johnson, I saw at once that my assignment was not pleasing to either of those gentlemen, both of whom soon after resigned their commissions in the army and entered the Confederate service as general officers.

In February (1861) I received an order from the head-quarters of the army assigning me to the command of Fort McHenry near Baltimore. The very day I received this order Mr. Lincoln arrived in New York on his way to Washington. He was accompanied by his wife and children, his secretaries, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Judge David Davis, Ward H. Lamon, N. B. Judd, and Elmer E. Ellsworth, the first victim of the rebellion on rebel soil, also by Colonel Sumner, Major Hunter, and Captain Pope, of the army. I was invited to join the party, and went with it to Washington. The journey of Mr. Lincoln was a continued ovation from Springfield to Harrisburg, where he was received by the Pennsylvania legislature and addressed a large assemblage of people. At all places on the route the crowds were gathered in great numbers to see and hear him. Early in the evening while he was at dinner, at Harrisburg, Governor Curtin, Colonel Lamon, and Mr. Judd came in, said a few low words to him, escorted him to a carriage, drove away, and early the next morning he arrived in Washington. It was so quietly done that only four or five persons knew anything of it.

The presidential train started the next morning at the appointed hour and attracted the usual crowds at the Harrisburg depot, and all stations on the route. At Cockeysville it was met by a committee of reception from Baltimore, composed of political friends of the President elect, who were greatly disappointed when informed that he was not aboard the train, but had preceded the party to Washington. Some of the gentlemen became much excited and quite indignant, saying that great preparations had been made, and that Baltimore had intended to give him the grandest reception of any city on the whole route. They felt that the Republicans of Baltimore had been slighted and insulted. They did not know at that time, but afterward learned the truth, that men, who had sworn that Abraham Lincoln should never be inaugurated President of the United States, were prepared to give him a very different reception.



FORT MCHENRY.

When the train stopped in Baltimore it was instantly beseiged by the crowd. Men forced their way in at the doors of the cars and thrust their heads through the windows, shouting: "Where is he?" "Trot him out." "Let us see him," etc. All this in a very different tone and style from the deferential and affectionate greeting that had been extended to him in all other places.

It was with great difficulty the party succeeded in making the change from the cars to the carriages which were to convey them across the city. The crowd of people far exceeded any seen there before. Mr. Lincoln's secret passage through Baltimore was ridiculed at the time, and there are many who still believe it was unnecessary; but subsequent events have proved that had he been one of the party who crossed the city that day he would not have lived to become the idol of the people, and the saviour of the nation, for from the nature of the attack contemplated, few if any of the number would have escaped uninjured.

At the date of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration the country was in a very defenseless condition. Both army and navy had been so scattered as to be

unavailable, and the arsenals in the Northern States had been stripped of arms and ammunition. A few companies of artillery garrisoned some of the Atlantic forts, and in the District of Columbia, Colonel Charles P. Stone, acting by authority of Judge Holt, then Secretary of War, and Lieutenant-General Scott, General-in-Chief of the Army, had enlisted a battalion of volunteers, but they had not been mustered into service.

On the twenty-sixth day of February I assumed the command of Fort McHenry, where I found Lieutenant S. H. Reynolds, of the 1st Regiment of Infantry, and Lieutenant A. T. Smith, of the 8th Infantry, and a garrison of one hundred recruits. Reynolds was relieved from duty at the post, and afterward resigned and entered the Confederate service.

Fort McHenry is situated on what is called Whetstone Point, between the north-west branch and the main branch of the Patapsco River, which forms the harbor of Baltimore. It was a work of five bastions, built of brick, without casemates or bomb-proofs, and surrounded by a dry ditch. It had a water battery on the south, and a demi-line in front of the sally-port. The armament consisted of about forty old thirty-two pounders, mounted *en barbette*, for which there was no suitable ammunition. The carriages were old, and many of them rotten. In case of an attack, these guns were of no more use than so many Quaker guns. On the parade ground there was piled a large number of eighteen-pound shot, and a quantity of eight-inch shells.

The officers at the post were on friendly and visiting terms with some of the leading families of Baltimore, but when secession became the harbinger of war, they found many of these acquaintances were intensely Southern in their feelings, and ready to unite with the seceding States in their efforts to destroy the Union. *

In the month of March recruiting for the rebel service was secretly commenced in Baltimore under the superintendence of Louis T. Wigfall (Senator from Texas), and many men were enlisted and forwarded to Charleston.†

* In the month of November, 1861, the writer called at the house of one of his Baltimore friends. The gentleman was very cordial, but the lady of the house received him coolly. On taking leave he said to her: "Mrs. ——, you did not recognize me when I came in." "Oh yes, I did," she replied, "but, to tell the truth, I don't like the looks of your uniform." "I am sorry for that, madam," said he, "and I will be careful not to wear it here again." She then said, "As you belong to the regular army, I suppose I ought not to object." "Pardon me, madam," said he, "I am now commanding a brigade of volunteers."

† Wigfall to Genl. Beauregard. Baltimore March 12 1861.

Genl. Beauregard. C. S. A.

Charleston S. C.

My dear Sir—

By the authority of the Secretary of War, I have established a recruit-

The first regiment to respond to the call of the President was the Sixth Massachusetts militia, commanded by Colonel Edward F. Jones. This regiment left Boston on the evening of the seventeenth of April, reached New York in the morning, and Philadelphia the afternoon of the next day. The train bearing this command arrived at the President street depot in Baltimore about noon on the nineteenth day of April, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington. It was the intention of Colonel Jones to march his regiment across the city to the Washington branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, but as soon as the train arrived in Baltimore, the engine was switched off, horses attached to the cars, and they were hurried off to Camden station. A little more than half the regiment reached the station without molestation, but as soon as it became generally known that a Yankee regiment was passing through the city on its way to Washington, a mob collected in Pratt street, and piled anchors, stones, and other obstacles on the track, and prevented the remaining cars from proceeding.

Colonel Jones says: "After leaving Philadelphia I received intimation that our passage through the City of Baltimore would be resisted. I caused ammunition to be distributed, and went personally through the cars and issued the following order, viz.—'The regiment will march through Baltimore in column of sections, arms at will. You will undoubtedly be insulted, abused, and perhaps assaulted, to which you must pay no attention whatever, but march with your faces square to the front, and pay no attention to the mob even if they throw stones, bricks, or other missiles, but if you are fired upon, and any one of you is hit, your officers will order you to fire. Do not fire into any promiscuous crowd, but select any man whom you may see aiming at you and be sure you drop him.'"

When it was ascertained that the cars could not proceed, they were vacated, and the soldiers formed in line on the sidewalk. Captain Follansbee, of Lowell, being the ranking officer present, assumed the command and attempted to march through the crowd, when they were

ing station here and am induced to believe that I will meet with decided success. By the time an officer can reach here, there will probably be one hundred recruits to examine.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I was merely requested and authorized to recruit for the Army of the Confederate States

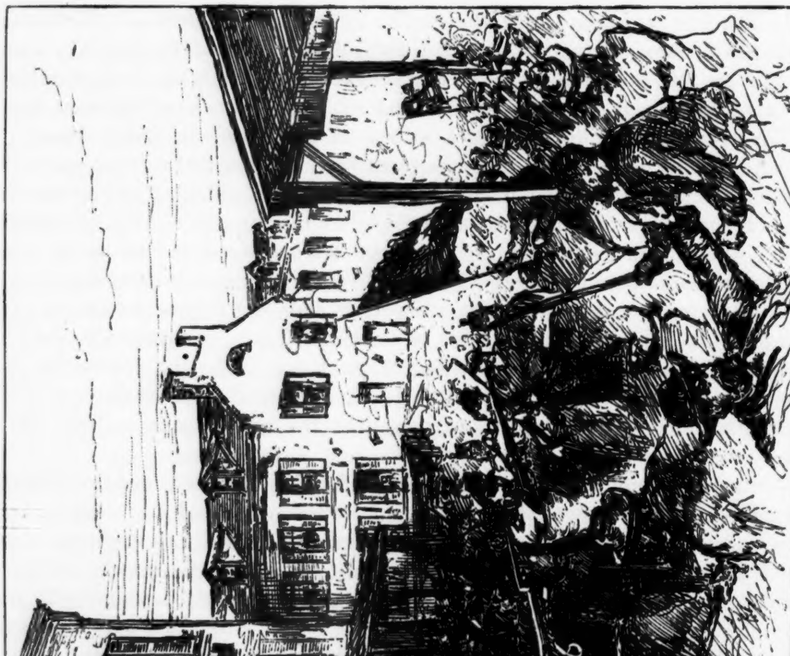
Very respy.
Yrs. Louis T. Wigfall

Wigfall to Rebel Secy. of War.

Washington March 20, 1861.

Hon. L. P. Walker.

Large number of men in Baltimore, cannot be kept together there much longer. Nothing heard of or from Haskell. What shall I do? Louis T. Wigfall.



THE SIXTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT PASSING THROUGH BALTIMORE, APRIL 19, 1861.

attacked by the yelling, hooting mob, with brick-bats, stones, pieces of iron, and other missiles. The command "*double quick*" was given. This the mob interpreted as evidence of fear, that the soldiers dared not fire, or, that they had no ammunition. Then the assault was redoubled, numerous pistol shots were fired into the ranks, and one soldier fell dead. Patience ceased to be a virtue, and officers gave the order to fire. The firing now became general on both sides. Three soldiers, Sumner H. Needham, of Lawrence, Addison O. Whitney and Luther Ladd, of Lowell, were killed, and about forty others were wounded. The number of citizens killed and wounded is not known. At this juncture, the mayor of the city, Mr. George William Brown, made his appearance, placed himself by the side of Captain Follansbee at the head of the leading company, and exerted himself to the utmost to quiet the affray. The city police, also, soon after arrived on the ground, and forming in line across the street allowed the soldiers to pass through and kept back the infuriated mob. At Camden station, where the cars were taken for Washington, the assault was renewed. Colonel Jones says of this: "As the men went into the cars, I caused the blinds to the cars to be closed and took every precaution to prevent any shadow of offense to the people of Baltimore; but still the stones flew thick and fast into the train, and it was with the utmost difficulty that I could prevent the troops from leaving the train and avenging the death of their comrades. After a volley of stones, some one of the soldiers fired and killed a Mr. Davis, who, I have since ascertained by reliable witnesses, threw a stone into the car; yet that did not justify the firing at him, but the men were infuriated beyond control." This Mr. Davis was a prominent citizen of Baltimore, and it is claimed by his friends that he was a quiet spectator and had taken no part in the affray. His death, under the circumstances, was considered by us a very unfortunate event.

While this tragedy was being enacted in the streets and at Camden station, a regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers, commanded by Colonel Small, arrived at the President street depot *en route* to Washington, but as they had been sent forward without arms, they were sent back to Philadelphia on the same train that brought them.

It is impossible to describe the intense excitement that now prevailed. Only those who saw and felt it can understand or conceive any adequate idea of its extent. Meetings were held under the flag of the State of Maryland, at which the speeches were inflammatory secession harangues, and it was resolved that no soldier should be allowed to pass through Baltimore for the protection of the National Capital. Secessionists and sympathizers with rebellion had everything their own way. The national flag dis-

appeared. No man dared to display it, or open his mouth in favor of the Union. The governor of Maryland, who had been a strong Union man, was overawed, weakened, and induced to call out the State militia. The "Maryland Guards" were immediately under arms, and batteries of artillery, with horses in harness, were paraded in the streets.

On the morning of the 20th I went to the city in citizen's dress, and as I walked past a battery paraded in front of the Post Office, I was recognized by Captain Woodhull, who immediately joined me and asked if I was armed. "Why do you ask that?" I inquired. "Because," was his reply, "you are not safe here, and had better return to the fort." I told him I had some purchases to make, and when that was done I would follow his advice. He remained with me until I was ready to leave town. By order of the city government, to prevent the passage of other troops, the bridges over the Gunpowder and Bush rivers, on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, and the bridge near Cockeysville, on the Northern Central Railroad, leading to Harrisburg were burned, which severed all connection by rail with the Northern States.

The conspiracy extended to the neighboring towns, and it seemed that for hours of the night mounted men from the country were crossing the bridges of the Patapsco. Marshal Kane, chief of the police force, telegraphed to Bradley T. Johnson, at Frederick: "Street red with Maryland blood—Send expresses over the mountains of Maryland and Virginia for the riflemen to come without delay—Fresh hordes will be down on us tomorrow—We will fight them and whip them or die." Threats were made to capture Fort McHenry.* Baltimore at that time was as much in rebellion as Richmond or Charleston.

The officers at Fort McHenry knew its defenseless condition. They also knew its importance. If it was lost, Maryland would probably secede and the Capital would be cut off. The officers determined to hold it at all hazards, and immediately set to work with the means at hand to prepare for its defense. Sand-bags were filled, timber was procured, and a splinter-proof built for the side of the magazine toward the city. A quantity of eight-inch shells were filled with powder, and paper fuses calculated to burn about thirty seconds attached to them; gutters were manufactured and placed on the slope for the purpose of rolling these shells into the ditch in case of an

* A few years ago, a prominent Baltimore paper denied that there was ever any intention to attack Fort McHenry. It is a sufficient answer to this, to state that in the spring of 1862, the Maryland delegation in Congress, headed by the Honorable Reverdy Johnson, addressed a letter to President Lincoln, in which they said, "It was mainly owing to the determined stand taken by Captain Robinson that Fort McHenry was saved to the Government."

assault, a brass field-piece was placed in the angle commanding the approach from the town, and another was placed on the parade ground, pointed toward the sally-port and loaded with canister for the benefit of any party that might succeed in forcing the gates. An old mortar was found and a bed improvised for it. As long as it would stand fire, shells could have been thrown into Monument square, or the heart of the city. It was, however, honeycombed, and probably would not have lasted long. Requisitions had previously been made out and forwarded for ordnance and ordnance stores and other supplies, to which no answer had been received, but subsistence stores were purchased in Baltimore and carted to the fort. At the first intimation of trouble, the orders already given were duplicated, so that rations enough were on hand to meet the emergency.

At about 9 o'clock on the evening of the 20th, Police Commissioner Davis called at the fort, bringing the following letter from the President of the Police Board:

Office Board of Police
Baltimore April 20, 1861
8 oClock, P. M.

Capt. Robinson, U. S. A.
Commanding Fort McHenry.
Dear Sir

From rumors that have reached us, the Board are apprehensive that you may be annoyed by lawless and disorderly characters approaching the walls of the Fort to night. We propose to send a guard of perhaps 200 men to station themselves on Whet-stone Point, of course entirely beyond the outer limits of the Fort, and within those of the City. Their orders will be to arrest and hand over to the Civil authorities any evil disposed and disorderly persons who may approach the Fort. We should have confided this duty to our regular Police Force, but their services are so imperatively required elsewhere, that it is impossible to detail a sufficient number of them to your vicinity, to insure the accomplishment of our object. This duty has therefore been entrusted to a detachment of the regular organized Militia of the state, now called out pursuant to law and actually in the service of the State of Maryland. The commanding officer of the detachment will be instructed to communicate with you. Permit me here to repeat the assurance I verbally gave you this morning that no disturbance at or near your post shall be made with the sanction of any of the constituted authorities of the City of Baltimore, but that on the contrary all their powers shall be exerted to prevent any thing of the kind, by any parties.

I have the honor to be Very respectfully
Your ob'd't Servt. Charles Howard Pres't.
(By order of the Board of Police.)

P. S. There may perhaps be a Troop of Volunteer Cavalry with the detachment. These will of course be under the orders of the officer in command.

Yours &c
Charles Howard
Pres't.

I did not question the good faith of Mr. Howard, but Commissioner Davis verbally stated that they proposed to send the "Maryland Guards" to help protect the fort. Having made the acquaintance of some of the officers of that organization and heard them freely express their opinions, I declined the offered support, and then the following conversation occurred:

Commandant.—"I am aware, sir, that we are to be attacked to-night. I received notice of it before sundown. If you will go outside with me you will see we are prepared for it. You will find the guns loaded and men standing by them. As for the Maryland Guards, they cannot come here. I am acquainted with some of those gentlemen and know what their sentiments are."

Commissioner Davis.—"Why, Captain, we are anxious to avoid a collision."

Commandant.—"So am I, sir. If you wish to avoid a collision, place your city military anywhere between the city and that chapel on the road,* but if they come this side of it I shall fire on them."

Commissioner Davis.—"Would you fire into the City of Baltimore?"

Commandant.—"I should be sorry to do it, sir, but if it becomes necessary in order to hold this fort, I shall not hesitate for one moment."

Commissioner Davis (very excitedly).—"I assure you, Captain Robinson, if there is a woman or child killed in that city there will not be one of you left alive here, sir."

Commandant.—"Very well, sir. I will take the chances. Now I assure you, Mr. Davis, if your Baltimore mob comes down here to-night you will not have another mob in Baltimore for ten years to come, sir."

Fortunately that night the steamer *Spaulding*, that had been carrying troops to Fortress Monroe, came into the harbor and anchored under the guns of the fort and sent up to the city for coal, which was supplied by a lighter. A report was spread in Baltimore that this ship had brought a reinforcement of eight hundred men. All the tents to be found at the post were pitched on the esplanade, as if for accommodation of the newly arrived troops. All communication with the city was cut off; a picket guard was placed at the hospital gate, and no one was allowed to go out or come in except officers and a trusty messenger. All civilians were stopped there until an officer could be sent for to ascertain their business. It was ten days before the public knew that no reinforcement had been received. By that time there was a reaction; the reign of terror was over, and Baltimore became a quiet city.

* A Roman Catholic chapel about three-quarters of a mile from the fort.

One day word came in that there was a stranger at the picket who wanted to see the commanding officer. When I met him he wished to see me privately, and when out of view of the guard he informed me that he was the bearer of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, that as he did not know what might happen to him in Baltimore he had concealed it in a queer place. He then removed his hat, and lifting his wig, drew out the letter from between it and his bald crown. It was rather oily, but, nevertheless, a document I was glad to receive. About the time the excitement commenced Lieutenant Grey arrived at the post with a skeleton company of the Second Artillery. He was soon after sent in disguise through Baltimore with a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, calling his attention to the fact that the United States receiving ship *Alleghany* was lying at Baltimore, and suggesting to him that under the circumstances she would be much safer under the guns of Fort McHenry. On reading the letter the Secretary started from his chair, saying no one in his own department had reminded him of this thing, and immediately gave orders for the removal of the ship. Captain Hunter, who commanded her, obeyed the order, reported to me the position of the vessel, returned to the city and resigned from the navy.

Soon after the attack on the Massachusetts troops, Brevet-Colonel Ben Huger, of the ordnance corps, who was in charge of Pikesville Arsenal, and living in Baltimore, resigned his commission in the army. Meeting him afterwards and expressing regret at the course he had taken, he replied: "I never did anything with so much regret in my life. I was brought up in the army, my father was in the army, my son is in the army, and I hoped to end my days in the army, but *the country has gone to ——!* My friends in South Carolina are constantly writing to me, urging and begging me to resign and come home, and I can't stand it any longer. But one thing I assure you, old fellow, I never will fight against the old flag."

On the 25th day of June, 1862, at the Orchard, the first battle of the seven days' fighting on the Peninsula, the First Brigade of Kearney's division under my command was directly opposed by the division of Major-General Ben Huger. This is not an isolated case. There were other officers who, feeling compelled to leave our service, did so with the same determination as Huger, but after they reached home within the limits of the Confederacy they found the pressure too strong, and were almost forced to draw their swords against the flag they had sworn to defend. Were they not virtually conscripted as well as the men they commanded?

The first demonstration of returning loyalty was on Sunday morning,

the 28th day of April, when a sailing vessel came down the river crowded with men, and covered from stem to stern with national flags. She sailed past the fort, cheered and saluted our flag, which was dipped in return, after which she returned to the city.

The tide had turned. Union men avowed themselves, the stars and stripes were again unfurled, and order was restored. Although after this time arrests were made of persons conspicuous for disloyalty, the return to reason was almost as sudden as the outbreak of rebellion. The railroads were repaired, trains ran regularly, and troops poured into Washington without hindrance or opposition of any sort.

Thousands of men volunteered for the Union army. Four regiments of Maryland troops afterwards served with me and constituted the Third Brigade of my division. They fought gallantly the battles of the Union, and no braver soldiers ever marched under the flag.

In the summer of 1882 the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic was held in the City of Baltimore and received a welcome never exceeded in any Northern city. The escort was composed of military companies of Maryland and Virginia. The blue and the gray mingled. Union and Confederate soldiers walked the streets arm in arm, red, white and blue bunting covered the buildings on all the business streets, and the starry banner of the Union floated from every flagstaff. In May last the Society of the Army of the Potomac held its annual meeting in Baltimore. Hundreds of the soldiers who had marched through Baltimore to Washington in 1861 received a cordial and hearty welcome to that city in 1885.

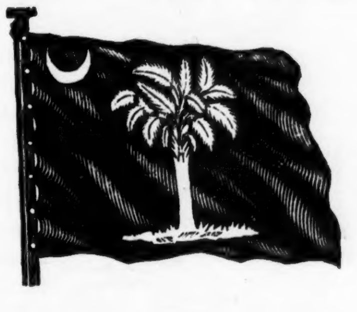
Jno. C. Robinson

BEGINNINGS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA

THE CONFEDERATES TAKE THE OFFENSIVE

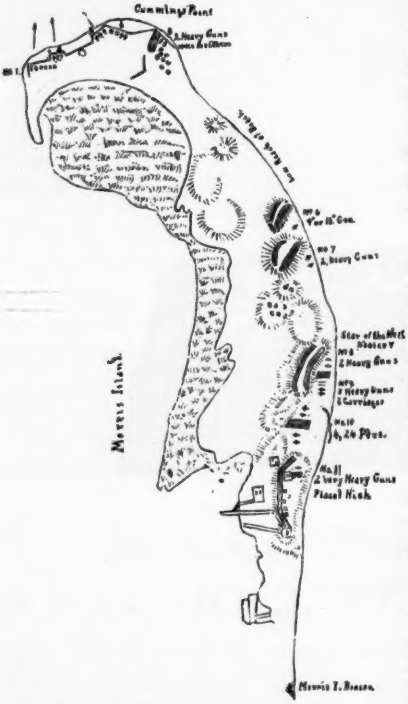
(*Continued from page* 137)

In view of the inauspicious attitude so generally taken at Washington by the leading men of the incoming political party toward the compromise measures proposed by the Peace Congress, or, indeed, toward the idea of any compromise of the questions which had culminated in the secession movement, the congress at Montgomery, about a fortnight before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, or on the 15th of February, considered it expedient to be so prepared that the possible arbitrament of the sword should not come upon them with unavoidable disadvantages in Charleston Harbor—the point, in all likelihood, of first armed collision. Accordingly the Confederate Executive was directed by formal resolutions to make all possible military preparations to obtain possession, either by negotiation or force, of Forts Sumter and Pickens as early as practicable. It was not, however, until eight days afterwards that Major Whiting, lately a captain of United States engineers stationed at Savannah, was dispatched from Montgomery to inspect the works held or being constructed by the State authorities of South Carolina, and to report their condition to the Confederate Government, as well as all the information to be had regarding Fort Sumter. This action of the Confederate Congress was followed by a further resolution, a week later, assuming the control of all operations in the quarter of Charleston. Thereupon Mr. Davis called to Montgomery G. T. Beauregard, who had upon the secession of his native State, Louisiana, resigned his commission of captain of engineers and of brevet-major of the United States



STATE FLAG OF SOUTH CAROLINA

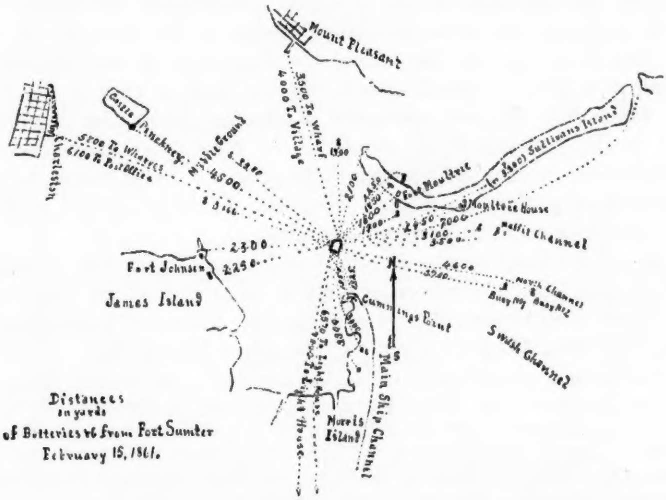
army—the latter grade won by conspicuously gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec, during the war with Mexico. This officer was at once commissioned as a brigadier-general in the Confederate service, and on the 1st of March assigned to command the military operations in the quarter of Charleston. For that command, I need hardly say, he was universally regarded, in the army from which he had resigned, as professionally fitted in the highest degree. Having gone to Charleston and closely informed himself of what had been accomplished there already, he assumed command on the 6th of March, or two days after the executive power of the United States had passed into the hands of Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet.



Of the advent of so accomplished an engineer officer as Beauregard at Charleston, and what it directly portended, the newly installed President and his astute and experienced premier had immediate information. Major Anderson, three days after Beauregard entered upon his duties, in an official letter to his Government, spoke of him in these terms: "The presence here as commander of General Beauregard, recently of the United States Engineers, insures, I think, in a great measure, the exercise of skill and sound judgment in all operations of the South Carolinians in the harbor." On the 10th of March, Captain Foster, the engineer officer in Fort Sumter, also wrote to his chief at Washington: "Generally speaking there is more earnestness exhibited now than for several days previously to the 5th instant. * * * General Beauregard is understood to be in command of the forces here." Anderson also reported on the 9th of March: "It appears to me that vessels will *even now*, from the time they cross the bar, be under fire from the batteries on Morris Island until they get under the walls of this fort." * * * "Fort Moultrie will of course be a very formidable

enemy." Two days later he added that little seemed to be doing "except upon the batteries on Morris Island that commanded the entrance channel to the harbor." Moreover, on the 12th of March, Captain Foster reported to General Totten the character and military import of these same Morris Island batteries "extending southward along the channel," which he described as "redoubts connected by lines of parapets serving as curtains with their *rear protected from a reverse fire from Sumter.*"

Furthermore, Mr. Lincoln had not been in occupation of the White House twenty-four hours before he was made acquainted with the precarious subsistence situation of the garrison of Fort Sumter, which then



consisted of about one hundred and thirty souls all told, including some eight or ten hired men who had served at least one term of enlistment in the army, with forty-three engineer employés who had been trained or drilled as gunners. Thus he must have seen that starvation would oblige Anderson to abandon Fort Sumter to the Carolinians within a fortnight after the latter should simply refuse to supply his command with fresh meat and vegetables. In other words, within the first week after Mr. Lincoln became President, he and his constitutional advisers were made aware that the United States forces in Fort Sumter must be freshly provisioned without delay or hesitancy, or they soon must be exposed to be starved into the evacuation of the position at the pleasure of the authorities at Montgomery; and that meanwhile, with every day, one of the ablest of

American military engineers was girdling that position with works which must soon render any attempt to throw provisions into it or to reinforce the garrison wholly futile, thus assuring its fall without the discharge of a gun. Nevertheless this burning question cannot with historical verity be said to have been met by the new Federal administration, with more resolution or energy or promptness than had characterized the one to which it had succeeded—with such a flood of harsh criticism of that predecessor and such a din of injurious allegations of which "criminal weakness" was the very mildest. That no more was done to meet the question of secession under the regime of Lincoln than under that of Buchanan, until the fortress in question was captured by the impatient Confederate authorities, is due solely to precisely the same imperious reason in the one case as in the other: that is to say, to the inexorable constraint of the inherent fundamental principle of a constitutional republic such as that of the United States, which had led even the great Federalist, Alexander Hamilton, to declare in the convention of the State of New York that ratified the Constitution of the United States: "To coerce a State would be one of the maddest projects ever devised. No State would ever suffer itself to be used as the instrument of coercing another."

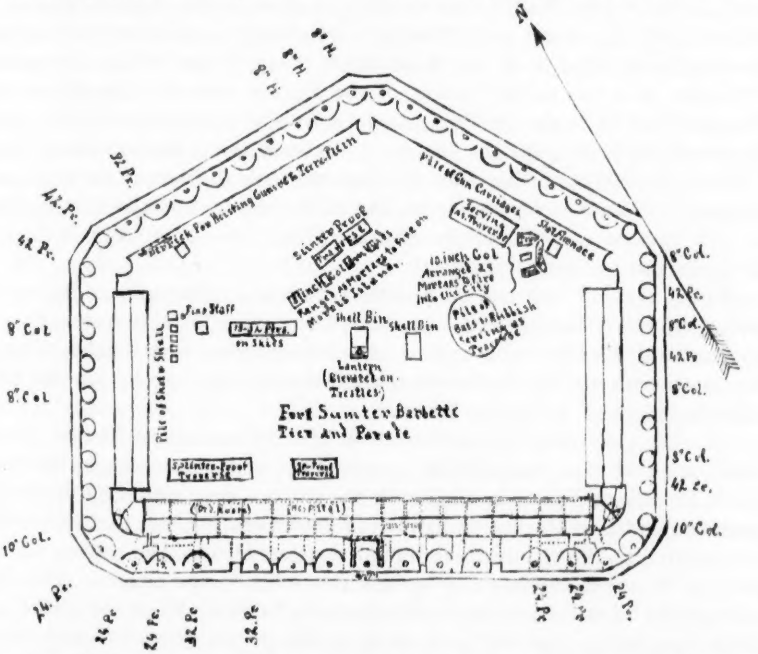
How widely, or generally, at the time, here in the North as well as at the South, this principle was recognized as being one of the chief roots of our political institutions may be seen in the following leading editorial article taken from *Harper's Weekly* of the 9th of March, 1861:

"We believe that the work of reconstruction is proceeding in the Gulf States. The Montgomery Convention has elected a very moderate man for President, and the most emphatic enemy of disunion for Vice-President. It has adopted the Constitution of the United States, and has altered none of the laws, and displaced none of the officials appointed by the general government. Mr. Davis has bestirred himself actively and successfully to prevent such a collision as would impede reconstruction. His Cabinet consists of Union men. The only South Carolinian who had the courage to avow himself a friend of the Union is also the only South Carolinian invited to a seat in the administration. You find nowhere in the proceedings at Montgomery any indorsement of the extreme *per se* disunionists. More than this, more than one-half of the ties existing between the Gulf States and the Union remain unsevered. The United States mail is carried throughout the seceding States. Foreigners in Alabama prepay letters to other foreigners in Georgia with United States postage stamps. Postmaster Huger, at Charleston, sends regularly to Washington for stamps and blanks, and renders his account as usual. The United States patent laws and copyright laws still obtain. Youths from Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama are still in their classes at West Point and Annapolis. Not five per cent. of the Southern officers in the United States army and navy have resigned their commissions. There has been a formal change in the revenue service. The United States collectors call themselves collectors for their several States. But they collect duties under the United States tariff, keep account of the receipts, and their States will account

for the money by and by. South Carolina, on the eve of certain secession, still sent her census returns faithfully to Washington. Surely this is a very mild kind of separation.

"It would undoubtedly be a very mischievous undertaking to keep half a dozen States in the Union against the deliberate wishes of their people. Whatever popular feeling, roused to frenzy by the seizure of forts, arsenals, revenue cutters and mints might prompt on the spur of the moment, there can be no question but the enterprise of holding the Union together by force would ultimately prove futile. *It would be in violation of the principles of our institutions.*" *

In the profound study which he made of the polity of the United States,



based on his large personal intercourse with our public men of both political parties, as well as upon an intimate acquaintance with the political history of the country, and the utterances of American statesmen of the first quarter of a century on the existence of the Union, M. de Toqueville declared explicitly, as a settled matter, that no effort would ever be made to maintain the Federal Union by force. This was but a logical conclusion, in view of the fact that the compulsion of a State to remain in the Union against the consent of the people of that State practically involved the

* I presume from the pen of the present accomplished editor of the same journal.—AUTHOR.

complete overthrow of the Constitution itself by the destruction of representative institutions, with the substitution of a centralized despotism wielded by the Federal Government, with the power to wrench, with armed hand, from great and unanimous political communities, the right of being governed as they like; that is the right that underlay the war of Independence.

Coercion struck at the right of every People to decide for themselves how far a government may or not be conducive to their own general weal, and to set up, if they may so elect, a new or modified political system, subject only to moral responsibilities before the world for their action. Another basic principle of the Revolution of 1776 was wholly discordant with that of a compulsory union of the States; namely, that the people thus desiring to make the change are to be the sole judges of the sufficiency of the reasons for the change! Webster, in his famous debate with Hayne, of South Carolina, frankly admitted that the term "national government" was unanimously struck out of the draught of the Constitution of 1778, because inapplicable to the facts and opposed to the intentions of the parties to that compact.

Surely the will that had set up this Union and prescribed its federative metes and bounds and powers—or, indeed, any other form or system of government—may withdraw submission to or connection with it subsequently. The States entered the Union by a gradual accretion, one by one; so they logically might go away one by one.

The very equality of the States in the Senate, where Rhode Island, Delaware, and Nevada have the same power and voice with either New York, Illinois, or Texas, coupled with the express reservation by the States in the amendment to the Constitution before *ratification*, that all powers not granted to the central government are reserved to the States, affords *proof* of the unrelinquished sovereign character of the States. For that matter, the Constitution itself was expressly based on "the consent of the States present," and *not upon that of the people of the United States aggregately.*

Even the methods by which amendments to the Constitution of the United States are to be effected carry the idea of reserved separate State sovereignty plainly visible; for the polity known as the United States of America cannot of itself change a single word in the Federal Constitution. The people of the United States, acting collectively as one nation, cannot constitutionally change a clause or even a word of that organic instrument or charter. It is only the people acting by separate State communities that can change a syllable in the Constitution by either one of several

methods provided, in all of which are carefully guarded this inherent principle of our political system—that of State sovereignty and of separate State action. For that matter, the selection of the very administrator of the Federal Government is made not by the people of the United States as a people, but by the States through their electoral colleges; and every one of the vast number of subordinate administrators, from the Secretaries of the Departments down to the tide-waiters, is appointed by this State-chosen President and the State-chosen Senators. A remarkable illustration of this political essence and action of the States is given in the election of Abraham Lincoln, notwithstanding that by the aggregate vote of the people of the United States he stood in a popular minority of about 350,000.

In fine, under our system, the State governments have the exclusive guardianship of each and all of the most precious rights of the people, the making of the laws that regulate property, the domestic relations, our daily dealings, and those that guard life and limb; while the Federal Government touches us only in exceptional cases and situations.

Mr. Lincoln, a man of heart and of a high and acute intelligence unwarped by humanitarian theories—which breed a Robespierre that could grieve over the killing of a chicken as readily as they may breed the martyr for opinion's sake—must have seen from the outset that under the Constitution coercion was an impossibility, and that any attempt to employ the army and navy of the general government to the end of forcing the eight seceded States, or either of them, back under Federal authority amounted practically to a subversion of the spirit of our political system. He must have understood that the people of South Carolina and of her associated States could not, for example, be made to send constitutionally elected representatives to Congress at Washington by force of rifled guns and bayonets. Therefore, it must have been that the new President virtually confessed his impotency in the exigency to constrain the action or course of the seceded States, when he declared there should be "no invasion, no using of force anywhere," and assured the country he would forego even the exercise of Federal offices "in disaffected districts."

That he and his Cabinet must have been satisfied that no constitutional power was lodged anywhere in the Federal polity, by virtue of which he could call into action the military arm of the Federal authority for the compulsory maintenance of a union of the States, seems to me clearly shown by the fact that he suffered the sun to set on the day of his inauguration without the convocation of Congress, by proclamation, to provide the ways and means for so supreme an exigency as that which met him as

he entered the White House, not as an emperor, a dictator, or an autocrat, but as the chief magistrate of a constitutional republic.

To no less a degree than Mr. Buchanan and his Cabinet (even when it embraced Floyd and Thompson) did Mr. Lincoln, for more than thirty days after his inauguration, procrastinate, or, in military parlance, "beat time." Practically he hesitated, halted, and parleyed while Beauregard was swiftly constructing works and garnishing them with artillery, exterior to Fort Sumter, that soon, in the opinion of General Scott and the chief engineer of the army, and of Major Anderson and all of the officers in that fortress, must make its relief against the wishes of the Confederates, a wholly impracticable operation within the time inexorably prescribed by the limited supply of provisions in Fort Sumter! This fact was explicitly stated by Anderson more than once.* General Scott on the 12th of March declared that for the successful relief of Anderson he should need a fleet of war vessels and transports which could not be collected in less than four months, together with 5,000 regulars and 20,000 volunteers; and that "to raise, organize, and discipline such an army (*not to speak of necessary legislation by Congress not now in session*) would require from six to eight months." And he added these words: "As a practical military question, the time for succoring Fort Sumter with any means at hand passed away nearly a month ago. Since then a surrender under assault or from starvation has been merely a question of time." †

The commission which had been dispatched from Montgomery in anticipation of the change of administration at Washington, Messrs. Crawford, Forsyth, and Roman, had not indeed been formally or personally received either by Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Seward; but, all the same, the subjects of their mission had, through Judge John A. Campbell ‡—a judiciously selected in-

* *Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 197.

† *Ibid.*, p. 197. However, under the light of subsequent events, it is apparent that even had the succor been effected at the time General Scott refers to, or immediately after the occupation of Sumter, it could not have averted its capitulation at the time Anderson took that step. As the veteran chief engineer of the army pointed out, if that fort had been "filled with men and munitions it could hold out but a short time. It would be obliged to surrender with much loss of life, for it would be bravely and obstinately defended, and the greater the crowd within, the greater the proportionate loss (*Reb. Official Rec.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 233)."

‡ Judge Campbell, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who subsequently resigned from the Federal service when he saw clearly that the interposition of military force was at hand, because he knew that *inter arma silent leges.* Ranking with the very ablest of the judges of that exalted tribunal for learning and judicial qualities, Justice Campbell was without a peer in the country for his knowledge of the Roman or civil and ecclesiastical law, of which he had made a profound study—a study that naturally equipped him also for the higher reaches of statecraft. The fact is, the two men of the South best fitted to have guided the Confederate States safely and

termediary of the ablest character—been brought to the attentive consideration of the Federal Government at an early day and with such results as led them to report in substance, within the first fortnight of the Lincoln administration, that "if there is faith in men" there would be a peaceful issue to their mission, but that in "the present position of affairs precipitation is war." As early as the 14th of March, Mr. Forsyth, one of this commission, telegraphed Governor Pickens: "I confidently believe Fort Sumter will be evacuated." Ex-Senator Wigfall had also telegraphed both to Mr. Davis and to General Beauregard on the 11th of March, that it had certainly been settled at a Cabinet meeting that Sumter should be soon vacated. And that these conclusions of the Confederate agents and their friends were not hastily formed or groundless is made apparent from the fact that Colonel Ward H. Lamon, of the personal *entourage* of President Lincoln, a gentleman notoriously in his confidence, who visited Charleston and had an interview with Major Anderson as well as with Governor Pickens, gave both to understand that orders would soon be issued from Washington for the abandonment of Sumter. The testimony of Anderson's official letters upon this point would seem conclusive; as, for example, this language in his letter of the 2d of April to Adjutant-General Thomas: "Having been in daily expectation, since the return of Colonel Lamon to Washington, of receiving orders to vacate this post." * And again April 6: "The remarks made to me by Colonel Lamon * * * have induced me to believe that orders will soon be issued for my abandoning this work." † How clearly, indeed, the dutiful soldier Anderson had, in these days, been

successfully in their effort to establish either a separate Federal Government from that of the Northern and Western States, or to have brought about a re-established Union of all the States upon a satisfactory basis, were Howell Cobb of Georgia, and John A. Campbell of Alabama. With the first as President and the second as Secretary of War, consummate statesmanship would have presided over the affairs of the Southern States. Both possessed high administrative ability and had broad views. Under them the Confederate armies and all vital positions would have been entrusted exclusively to the ablest soldiers of the South. There would have been none of that incredible, insensate favoritism which placed the Confederate commissariat administration in the hands of a Northrop and the guardianship of the Mississippi Valley in 1862–3 subject to the military inaptitude of a Pemberton. There would have been a proper conception and energetic use of the great advantages given to the Confederate States by their full possession of the interior lines. That immense sinew of war, the vast cotton crop of 1860, would have been utilized by exportation to Europe in the first twelve months of the war, and supplied the Southern armies with arms and ammunition, and also provided a fleet of cruisers sufficient to have swept the commerce of the United States from the ocean. Every element of success would have been sagaciously foreseen and employed with statesmanlike address.

* *Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 230.

† *Ibid.*, p. 237. See, also, correspondence between Anderson and Beauregard, *ibid.*, pp. 222–223.

led to believe by his government that it was their purpose that he should be ordered to evacuate Fort Sumter, is placed beyond honest doubt by these remarkable passages from his letter to the Adjutant-General at Washington, of the 8th of April, upon learning that the Fox expedition for his relief had been ordered: "I had the honor," he wrote, "to receive by yesterday's mail the letter of the honorable Secretary of War, dated April 4th, and confess that what he there states surprises me very greatly. * * * It is, of course, now too late for me to give any advice in reference to the proposed scheme of Captain Fox. I fear that its result cannot fail to be disastrous to all concerned. Even with his boat at our walls the loss of life (as I think I mentioned to Mr. Fox), in unloading her, will more than pay for the good to be accomplished by the expedition, which keeps us, if I can maintain possession of this work, out of position, surrounded by strong works, which must be carried to make this fort of the least value to the United States Government. * * * I ought to have been informed that this expedition was to come. Colonel Lamon's remark convinced me that the idea, merely hinted at to me by Captain Fox, would not be carried out." *

That Mr. Lincoln, meanwhile, must have been exceedingly loth to engraft upon our political system, as a means of resoldering and keeping the Union together, what Henry Heine characterized as the "Prussian political triad," *the artillery, cavalry, and infantry*, I cannot doubt. I am not one of those who believe that either he or Mr. Seward plotted and worked deviously to the ulterior end of forcing the Southern leaders to eject Anderson by violence, in order to inflame the passions of the Northern people and thus unite them in a war against the Southern States. Neither do I regard his courses or purposes as those of a man who

"Would not play false and yet would wrongly win."

* *Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 294. The letter referred to will be found *ibid.*, p. 235. It began by professing some anxiety on the part of the President, caused by a letter from Anderson to the adjutant-general of the 1st of April, recalling that he had told Mr. Fox that if he placed his command on short allowance he could make the provisions last until after the 10th of April; but, as he had received no instructions from the department that it was desirable that he should do so, it had not been done. Further, that if Governor Pickens allowed him to send off the engineer laborers he would have rations enough to last for a week from the 1st of April. He also reminded the department that it had been kept fully apprised, from time to time, of the precise state of his supplies verbally, through Lieutenants Talbot and Hall, as well as by detailed written statements to the Commissary Department. This letter becomes historically important when read in connection with the statement made by the Federal Secretary of War of April 4th, that on the "information of Captain Fox, the President had supposed that Anderson could hold out until the 15th of April without any great inconvenience, and had prepared an expedition to relieve him before that period."

On the contrary, as I read the history of his hesitations and unsteady policy between the 4th of March and the 4th of April, 1861—while finding no room for doubt that at one time it was decided in full Cabinet meeting, by a majority of five out of seven that Anderson's command should be withdrawn from Charleston Harbor, or as late as the visit of Colonel Lamon to Anderson on the 25th of March—I can best explain his final acceptance of the preposterous project of the ex-naval officer Captain Fox, as an adroit, legitimate method of escape from such a dilemma as that of ordering Anderson to evacuate Fort Sumter; an act that might be construed at home and abroad into "a recognition of the fact of the dissolution of the Union." * Regarded as that expedition was by the General-in-Chief and the Chief Engineer of the army, as without the least possibility of success, and deprecated by Major Anderson himself and all his officers, Mr. Lincoln's intelligence surely was too high and practical to look upon it as likely to succeed when the highest professional authority had so utterly condemned it. Hence, it can only be rationally regarded as a mere sop thrown by the sagacious, kindly-hearted Western statesman to the growling Cerberus of sectional passions which had been urging him to courses that must flood the land with blood. As we have seen, Anderson asserts positively that he informed Captain Fox, that only by resorting to short rations and getting *rid of* certain supernumerary mouths could his provisions be made to last as long as the 10th of April. Further, that Colonel Lamon failed to inform the President of the true situation in Sumter with regard to subsistence, is not to be rationally supposed. Hence it is apparent that not only the order issued in Washington placing Captain Fox in charge of the transportation, "to the entrance of Charleston Harbor," of the subsistence and supplies destined for the succor of Fort Sumter, but the order to the quartermaster in New York to charter such vessels as Captain Fox might designate for that operation was not issued until the 4th of April. Only on that day also did General Scott order from Washington the organization of a body of 200 recruits, with a competent equipment "of officers and ammunition and subsistence," with "other necessaries for the augmented garrison of Fort Sumter." †

* See Major Anderson's feeling, manly letter of April 5. (*Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 241.)

† It is true that on the 29th of March the President handed to the Secretaries of War and Navy respectively "preliminary orders" to the effect that the war steamers *Pocahontas* at Norfolk, *Pawnee* at Washington, *Harriet Lane* at New York, should be held under sailing orders for sea with stores, etc., for one month, and three hundred men to be kept ready for departure from on board the receiving ships at New York. Also that two hundred men be held ready to leave Governor's Island in New York. Supplies for twelve months to be put in portable shape ready for instant shipment. A large steamer and three tugs conditionally engaged.

Assuming that all energy was exerted in selecting and sending the four transports required for the enterprise projected by Captain Fox for the succor of Sumter,* Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet must have expected that such an expedition could not reach Charleston before Major Anderson had exhausted his subsistence, hauled down his flag, and retired from his position under a stress that did not necessarily involve war. This expectation is found in the instructions to Captain Talbot directing him to proceed to Charleston and notify Governor Pickens "that an attempt was about to be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only, and that, if such an attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in provisions, arms, or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort"—which instructions both opened and ended with the significant suggestion that, upon arriving at Charleston, he might find that Fort Sumter had been already evacuated!

Captain Talbot having reached Charleston and discharged his commission by reading to Governor Pickens in the presence of General Beauregard, on the 8th of April, the notification of the purpose of the Federal Government to provision the garrison of Sumter, of course General Beauregard telegraphed the Confederate War Department concisely: "Authorized messenger just informed Governor Pickens and myself 'that provisions would be sent to Sumter.'" † At the same time, however, he was also at the pains to inquire by telegraph of the Confederate commissioners at Washington as to the authenticity of the notification. Commissioner Crawford replied affirmatively on the 9th of April; adding that "diplomacy had failed," and that "the sword" must now be relied on to "preserve the independence" of the seceded States.

On April 10th, the Confederate Secretary of War telegraphed Beauregard that, if satisfied of the authenticity of the notification of the purpose of the Washington government to supply Sumter by force, he should at once demand its evacuation; and in the event this were refused, to proceed to reduce it in such manner as he might determine. That demand was accordingly made in writing at 12 meridian, on the 11th of April; simply a demand for the "evacuation" of the fort, coupled, however, with a proffer of all proper facilities for the removal of Major Anderson and his command, together with company arms and property and all private property, to any post in the United States that the Major might select. "The flag which you have upheld so long and with so much fortitude, under the most trying circumstances, may be saluted by you on taking it

* Steamer *Baltic*, and the steam-tugs *Uncle Sam*, *Yankee*, and *Freeborn*.

† *Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 245.

down," were the courteous words with which this important summons ended. Major Anderson, if with soldierly brevity, also with felicitous freedom from bravado, declined in writing to comply. As he had, however, casually remarked to the aides-de-camp of the Confederate general, that he "must be starved out in a few days" should he "not meanwhile be battered to pieces," Beauregard—having communicated these words to his superiors at Montgomery—was authorized to inform Anderson, as he did on the 11th of April, that if he would fix a time for the evacuation of his position and agree meanwhile not to use his guns against the Confederates, unless theirs were employed against him, fire would not be opened upon Fort Sumter.

To this Anderson replied on the 12th of April, that, if provided with the proper transportation, he would evacuate Fort Sumter by noon on the 15th of April, and that he would not in the mean time open fire upon the Confederate forces unless compelled to do so by some hostile act against his fort or the flag of his government by the forces under Beauregard, or by the perpetration of some act showing a hostile intention against Fort Sumter, or the flag it bore, should he not receive prior to the 15th of April controlling instructions from his government or additional supplies.*

As this answer, on its face, was unsatisfactory, and Messrs. James Chesnut, Jr., and Stephen D. Lee, aides-de-camp to General Beauregard, who received it, were under instructions in that event to give formal notification in writing, that within one hour thereafter the Confederate batteries would open fire upon Fort Sumter, the notice was duly given under their official signature, at 3.30 in the morning of the 12th of April, that hostilities would begin at 4.30.

Meanwhile, and of course, Captain Fox was unable to leave New York until the 10th of April on the *Baltic*. Preceded twelve hours by one of his steam-tugs, he left the other two to straggle on to the rendezvous off Charleston as best they might. The *Baltic* reached its destination, as Captain Fox reported, at 3 o'clock in the morning on the 12th of April; that is, barely one hour and a half before fire was opened on Fort Sumter. At the time, a gale was blowing, and of the war vessels only the *Harriet Lane* had come upon the scene. At 7 A.M., however, the *Pawnee* anchored twelve miles to the eastward of the lighthouse to await the advent of the *Powhatan*, the flagship of the naval force, which, as well as the *Pocahontas*, had not come in sight, and neither of which ships seems to have made its appearance subsequently in that quarter, wherefore, as respects the

* *Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 14.

Powhatan alone, it is explained by Fox that that vessel had been withdrawn from the expedition without his knowledge on the 7th of April, or "without the least intimation to him that the main portion—the fighting portion"—of the expedition "was taken away." That is to say, the *Powhatan* and the 300 extra sailors aboard of her that were relied on as essential to the success of the enterprise had been deliberately eliminated from it by the authorities at Washington—a course which can only be rationally accounted for, I repeat, by the theory that the Fox expedition was dispatched only because it was expected that Major Anderson would have been starved out of Fort Sumter before its arrival! Be this as it may, in the condition it reached the scene of its projected operations any attempt to execute its mission Captain Fox himself has said would have been absurd.

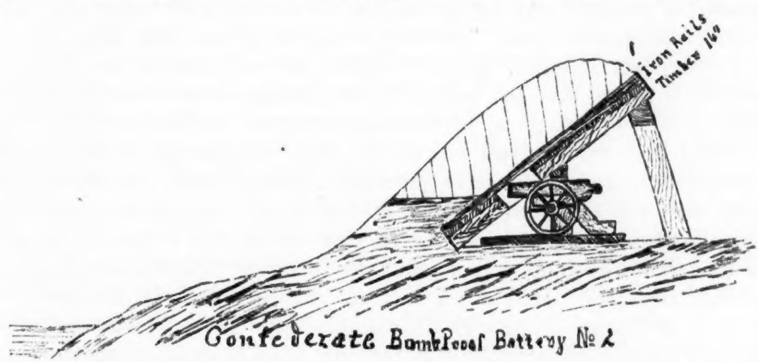
At 4.30 in the morning, the hour designated by General Beauregard, a signal shell was thrown into Sumter from the mortar battery on James

Island. This was immediately followed by all the Confederate batteries which encircled the doomed work. In a few moments thereafter 30 guns and 17 mortars were being actively served against it. Anderson did not respond, however, until 7 o'clock, when Captain Doubleday replied, with the first shot from the battery in the right gorge angle of Sumter. All the officers and soldiers of the Federal command had been divided into three reliefs, of two hours each, for the service of their pieces, including the 43 engineer workmen who had been previously trained for such an exigency, and nearly all of whom volunteered and acted as cannoneers or to carry shot and cartridges.* The armament disposable embraced 21 pieces in casemates, 27 in barbette, and 5 heavy columbiads on the parade, mounted for mortar service—in all 53 pieces. Only the casemate guns, however, seem to have been used.

* One of the officers who took an active part in the defense of Sumter, Lieutenant R. K. Meade, of the engineers, subsequently resigned and entered the Confederate service when his native State, Virginia, seceded.

The Confederate vertical or mortar practice appears to have been so good that one-half of their ten-inch shells either fell within the fort or exploded immediately above it, the fragments falling within the parapets. Such was the precision of this vertical fire, Captain Foster tells us, that Major Anderson soon determined not to subject his command to the great loss that must have ensued had he attempted to man and fight the first tier or barbette guns, notwithstanding the traverses and bomb-proof shelters which the engineers had provided. Therefore, those guns were only fired once or twice by volunteers who ventured the service, without effect at all commensurate with the hazard, as was found.

From all quarters of the compass meanwhile the Confederate shells sought and reached every part of the beleaguered fortress, and, as Foster reports, their fuses were so well graduated or timed that they exploded



just within the parapets. The direct firing, however, was not so well directed and effective.

Starting with but 700 cartridges for his guns, and unable to keep more than six needles busy making the necessary cartridge bags, Anderson had so reduced his stock by midday that he was forced to narrow his service to six guns during the afternoon. Two of these were addressed to Fort Moultrie, two to the batteries on Morris Island, and the others to the works on the west end of Sullivan's Island; that is, he in right soldierly fashion devoted himself chiefly to seeking to disable the batteries that would be used against the impending effort to relieve him from the side of the sea.

Several times during the afternoon of the 12th the barracks were set on fire from the exploding shells, but were readily saved from conflagration. However, the quarters were soon completely riddled through and through to their basements by shells fired from the west end of Sullivan's Island.

The night of the 12th was very stormy, and both wind and tide were high, so that had the whole Federal fleet been outside, as efficiently constituted for the enterprise as Fox claims it was projected, it could not possibly have done aught to succor Anderson and his little force. About every fifteen minutes, through the dense darkness, Beauregard's mortars threw a shell at Sumter—however, without reply. But meanwhile the supply of cartridge-bags was increased—to which end all the extra clothing of the men was cut up, and all the coarse paper to be found and extra hospital sheets were consumed. On the morning of the 13th of April, for twenty-four hours without bread, the last of some damaged rice that had been used as a substitute was cooked with the salt pork, the only character of food remaining. The Federal fire was now resumed as briskly as the supply of cartridges justified. The Confederate artillery service also was resumed at daylight with vigor, and the direct fire with better aim, from practice, than on the 12th. Hot shot were now thrown from Moultrie, and with such effect that the already riddled officers' quarters were soon so completely ablaze that the safety of the garrison from a sudden terrible death made it necessary to hermetically close the magazine. Before this was done only fifty barrels of powder could be brought forth and distributed in the lower casemates for future service, barely in time to save them from explosion, when the magazine doors were closed, and earth heaped and packed against them. In this and in the service of the guns the officers worked manually as well as the men. All the time the Confederate batteries rained down shells, or, for the most part, red-hot shot. By 12 M. all the wood work of the casemates and barracks was in flames; and only by unrelaxing effort was the fire kept from sweeping down the stairways to the wood work of the quarters below, and soon it became necessary to throw away all the powder to avoid its explosion from flying sparks that began to penetrate even to the casemates. Therefore, all but five barrels were thrown into the bay. Thus the ammunition was so reduced as to enable Anderson only to fire a gun every ten minutes.

The flagstaff, that had been repeatedly struck during the forenoon, finally came down at 1 P.M. The flag, secured as it fell by Lieutenant Hall of the artillery, was speedily rehoisted on a temporary staff by Lieutenant Snyder of the engineers.

By this time ex-Senator Wigfall, a volunteer on the staff of Beauregard, had made his way by an open boat from Morris Island to Sumter, with a white flag, and was permitted to enter through an embrasure, whereupon, previously to meeting Major Anderson, he represented in substance to the other officers, that as their flag had been shot away and a fire

was raging in their quarters, he had been sent to propose a suspension of hostilities, and that a white flag, to that end, should be raised ; in fact, proposed to wave his own white flag to the Sullivan's Island batteries to stop their fire, those on Morris Island having already done so. This he was allowed to do from an embrasure facing Moultrie ; but it seems the flag was not respected, doubtless because not observed. However, Major Anderson joined the group, and Wigfall, with some compliments touching the character of the defense, made known his mission. Of course, Anderson asked of the Confederate precisely what terms he had come to offer. The answer was : " Any terms you may desire—your own terms ; their precise nature General Beauregard will arrange with you."

Anderson now broached the terms tendered several days previously by General Beauregard ; that is to say, to evacuate the fort with his command ; taking arms and all private property ; saluting the United States flag as it was lowered, and being conveyed, if he desired, to any northern port. With this understanding, the United States flag was taken down and a white flag raised in its place, by Anderson's order. Very soon a boat reached the fort from Charleston, with several aides-de-camp of the Confederate general, bearing a message proffering aid to extinguish the flames. The circumstances of Wigfall's recent visit, and the consequent arrangements having been mentioned, the Federal commander was informed that Beauregard had not seen Wigfall for several days. This led Anderson, at once, to say that he must therefore rehoist his flag. The Confederate officers advised delay until they could report the situation to their chief, to whom they immediately bore a letter from Anderson explaining under what circumstances his flag was down, and declaring that, under existing conditions, he would evacuate his position upon the terms offered him on the 11th of April at any hour that might be named for the next day, or so soon as transportation could be arranged, and concluded: "I will not replace my flag until the return of your messenger." This note was written at 2.20 P.M. At five minutes of 6 P.M. Beauregard replied affirmatively in all respects, doing so " cheerfully," as he wrote to Anderson, " in consideration of the gallantry" with which he had defended the place under his charge.

Anderson's brief reply should be added as a part of the history of this most eventful incident—in its consequences—of modern history :

"General : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this evening, and to express my gratification at its contents. Should it be convenient, I would like to have the *Catawba* here at about nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

With sentiments of the highest regard and esteem, I am, general, very respectfully your obedient servant
Robert Anderson
Major, U. S. Army, Commanding "

Another creditable and, as I believe, characteristic document, also rightly belongs to this page of the history of the beginnings of the civil war:

" Headquarters Provisional Forces, C. S. A.,
Charleston, April 15, 1861.

" The commanding general directs that the commanding officer of the garrison of Fort Sumter will bury the unfortunate—[Federal]—soldier who has been accidentaly killed by explosion of misplaced powder while saluting his flag. He will be buried with all the honors of war in the parade of the fort.

By order of Brigadier General Beauregard:

W. H. C. Whiting
Adjutant and Engineer General.

" P. S.—The wounded will receive the best attention, and will be placed in the State hospital.

By order of General Beauregard.

W. H. C Whiting
Adjutant and Engineer General."

At the request of Major Anderson, one of his officers, escorted by Captain Hartstene, a South Carolinian who had recently resigned from the Federal navy, and was then of the Confederate naval service, and accompanied by several of Beauregard's staff, was permitted to visit the commanding officer of the United States fleet in the offing to arrange for receiving the Sumter command. Captain Gillis, of the fleet, also in return visited Major Anderson.

It was thus settled that Anderson and his gallant command should be conveyed, at his own convenience, by a Confederate steamer outside to the anchorage of the abortive relieving fleet and placed aboard the *Baltic* for transportation to New York; the *Baltic*, whose mission in those waters, as we have seen, had been an altogether different one in the sanguine, self-confident brain of the ex-naval officer whose family political influence had been weightier in the councils at Washington than the professional opinions of those highest in rank and experience of the military service, as well as Anderson and all his officers, who regarded that mission, as it was, a barefaced folly.

Late in the afternoon of the 15th of April the flag of the Federal Union having been rehoisted by Major Anderson in the presence of his officers and men under arms—those who had upheld it with so much professional intelligence and soldierly honor—it was ceremoniously saluted with the proper number of guns and then hauled down! The command was now marched aboard the steamer *Isabel*, and the evacuation of Fort Sumter was completed.

It has been said that "all the virtues of humanity cluster around the sword." Without asserting this to be rigidly the fact, I may claim that very many of the noblest traits of our common humanity have shown brightest during the hours and excitement of battle. When Fort Sumter was ablaze under the converging fire of some fifty guns and mortars, the Confederate company manning the battery on Cummings Point, Morris Island, on the morning of the 13th of April, at every shot which their resolute foe, when thus mortally imperiled by their burning barracks and exposed magazines, continued to discharge from their guns at Fort Moultrie—paused in their own fire to lustily cheer the resplendent resolution of the Union garrison. And as the *Isabel* subsequently bearing Anderson and his men to the *Baltic* for final embarkation for New York passed the same company, the soldiers of that Confederate battery lined the shore and stood with uncovered heads out of respect for their late gallant adversary.

Thomas Jordan

MILITARY AFFAIRS OF NEW YORK STATE IN 1861

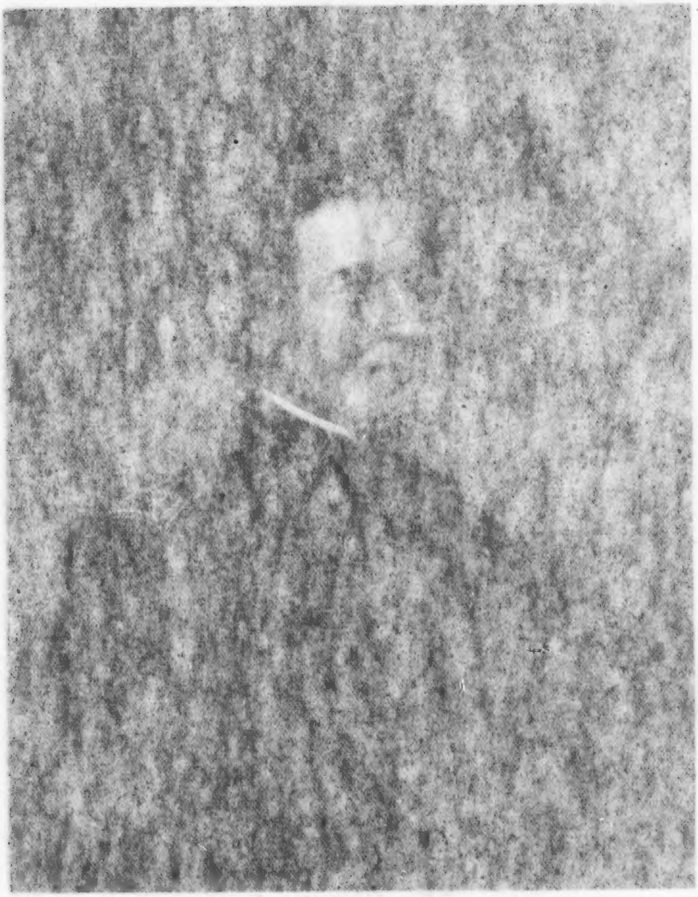
SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND IMPRESSIONS

(*Continued from page* 52)

Governor Morgan, at the opening of the rebellion, was in the fifty-first year of his age, and in the full vigor of a rugged manhood. Above six feet in height, with a massive, bony and sinewy frame, and an iron constitution, he supported toil, anxiety, and unexpected calls in all directions without apparent exhaustion. This insensibility to fatigue, partly the result of early training, made it impossible for him to understand that others, not yet seasoned and developed by time, were not, as a matter of course, to be called upon to devote even more hours to harassing mental effort than he himself was accustomed to encounter. He was, for instance, unable to comprehend that because a robust man of fifty could work sixteen hours a day, it did not follow that a boy of twenty-three could labor nineteen or twenty. In consequence of this, it was my duty as chief of staff to be so incessantly employed that for days I had no out-of-doors exercise, and frequently but one "square meal" per diem, while sleep was almost out of the question.

Governor Morgan stood like a rock in favor of the general government, and no one who saw the chief magistrate of New York in 1861 will ever forget his promptness, his accuracy, his zeal—tempered by a cool and cautious judgment. With all his practical qualities in private and public life he possessed a certain element of superstition, which I have remarked is frequently the accompaniment of an otherwise strong and solid understanding. I well remember that on one occasion during the war I emerged from the Capitol with him at a late hour of the night and found a new moon riding in the sky. Knowing his peculiarity, I immediately cried: "Be careful, Governor; here's a new moon!" "Ah!" was the reply, "wait a bit; give me your arm." Then, wheeling about, he deliberately backed out of the door, and when he had arrived at the verge of the steps he stopped and awaited my assurance that he was correctly placed to see the orb over his right shoulder.

The strictest integrity characterized all his dealings; and although the money-getting faculty was largely developed in his private undertakings, it was never exercised in public affairs except to benefit the State. For he most conscientiously applied to the concerns of the government the same care,



GENERAL [illegible]

[illegible] ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK [illegible]

MILITARY AFFAIRS OF NEW YORK STATE IN 1861

SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND IMPRESSIONS

(*Continued from page 52*)

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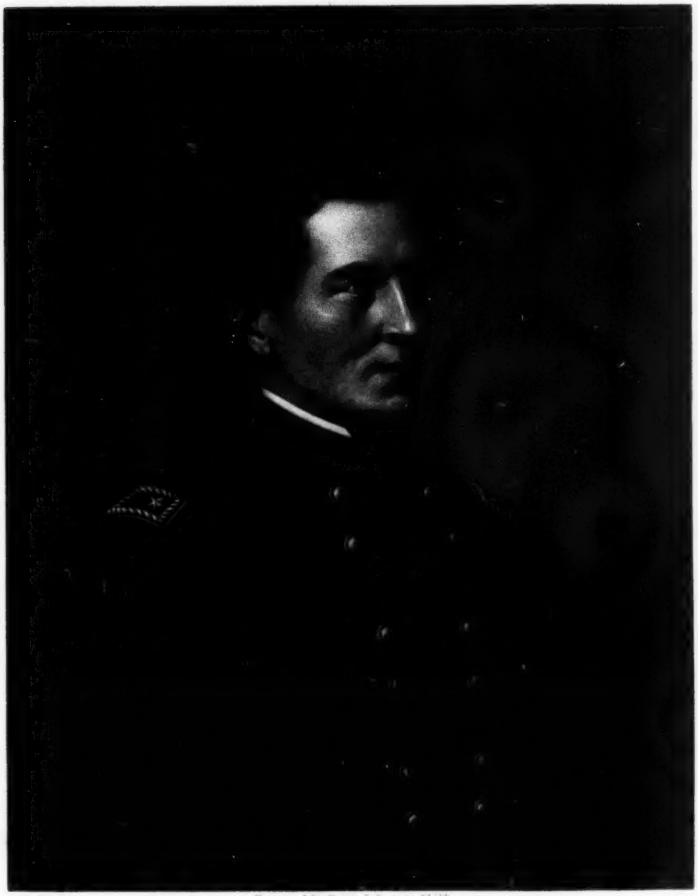


Engraved by Samuel Sartain, Phil.ª

GENERAL MEREDITH READ,

When ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK in 1861

AT 23 YEARS OF AGE

shrewdness and foresight which he gave to his own business. As a natural result he saved the State and National treasuries large sums which a less able or less scrupulous agent would have squandered or pocketed.

His countenance had a certain rigidity, and his usual expression seemed to say: I wish you would get through with your business as quickly as possible and let me go on with mine. But although he could not be called sympathetic in appearance or manners, he was lacking neither in humanity, generosity, or courage. The popularity which he attained, and which puzzled many who looked merely at externals, had its origin in a most honorable incident in his early political career. In 1848, while he was an alderman, the cholera invaded New York city like an avenging angel, and every one who could do so fled from before its face. Governor Morgan was the exception, for he remained and fought it from bedside to bedside, in the hospitals and dwellings of the poor, and his brave, Christian spirit carried hope and healing to the victims of despair, and snatched many deserted beings from the very jaws of death.

With all his apparent coldness Governor Morgan had a keen sense of humor. I distinctly recollect that at a meeting of the trustees of a certain learned University the secretary failed to arrive, and I, being the youngest member of the Board, was called upon to act as scribe *pro tem.* In the course of the subsequent proceedings Mr. Horace Greeley handed me a Resolution which he had prepared with great care at his hotel. After vain efforts to decipher the extraordinary hieroglyphics, I handed back the paper with the request that Mr. Greeley would read it himself. Turning it in every direction, with a most perplexed countenance, he suddenly exclaimed in his high, piping voice: "D—n it! I can't, it's cold!" Whereupon Governor Morgan, who was sitting next to him, burst into a tempest of laughter which carried with it every one in the room.

Mr. Greeley's appearance and garb at Governor Morgan's evening receptions are worthy of remembrance. One leg of his baggy, black trousers was hitched up, sometimes at the side, sometimes behind, while on the breast of his ancient dress-coat appeared a disorderly series of dilapidated pins, both black and white, which he was supposed to pick up in thrifty imitation of his cherished model, "Poor Richard." I have spoken, in a preceding number, of the ceremonies attending the reception of President Lincoln's body at Albany. There was one strange feature which marked its passage up State Street. As the crowd of eighty thousand surged in dense masses on roadway and sidewalk Mr. Greeley was caught up by the human wave and swept with irresistible force upon the doorstep of his political enemy, Peter Cagger. Just then Commodore Van

Santvoord, who was whirling by in the throng, descried Mr. Greeley with horror in his face vainly striving to escape from the contaminated vicinity, while Mr. Cagger with his customary politeness and *bonhomie* was beckoning for him to come within the house itself. Mr. Greeley was an interesting study, and I found that his many-sided character repaid prolonged attention; for with all his vagaries and eccentricities he possessed a very tender heart and a most capacious brain. He was the friend of the needy, and while his hand was always open to their individual wants, his busy mind was continually engaged in originating plans to ameliorate the condition of large classes of his countrymen. No one ever appealed in vain to his generosity, and there was no surer road to his friendship than to point out a way in which he could be useful to those requiring help. He wished to benefit his fellow-man and his country, and this led him sometimes into extremes which may have appeared for the moment to indicate lack of wisdom, but in the end he accomplished far more good than many who seemed to be more perfectly balanced. No one felt more deeply than he did the necessity of pushing the war to save the Union, and his fiery patriotism even led him to urge the advance of the army, which culminated in the defeat at Bull Run. The agony which he suffered when the news of that disastrous battle arrived, deprived him of sleep for many long nights, and in his great distress he used to drive from his farm at Chappaqua several miles to a neighbor's house to seek consolation and sympathy. In the course of one of these visits the restful conversation calmed his agitated nerves, and he suddenly sank into a peaceful slumber upon his friend's piazza. When he awoke his spirit was refreshed and his tired intellect had recovered its accustomed tone.

We have noted that the remains of the martyred Lincoln, on the twenty-fifth of April, 1865, were borne in a vast procession to repose for twenty-four hours in the Assembly Chamber of the old Capitol. On the fourth of July following another historical gathering took place in Albany in honor of the delivery to the State of the battle-flags of the regiments of New York. On that occasion the author of these pages by appointment read the Declaration of Independence, and the Rev. Dr. Chapin delivered an eloquent discourse. In a great tent on Washington Parade Ground, now a part of the park, was gathered an immense audience, and upon a high platform was seated a galaxy of renowned generals, including Sherman and Sheridan, but General Grant was the center of all eyes. There he sat as if he was carved out of stone; not a muscle moved, and even his eye betrayed no emotion. Just as the speaker was in the midst of his peroration an ominous sound was heard, and it was plain that the platform was giving way.

General Grant took in the situation at a glance. He made no sign, but awaited quietly until Dr. Chapin's last word had died upon the ear. Then he advanced without apparent concern across the quivering timbers and jumping into the crowd, which instantly divided to the right and left, he opened a way of retreat for all the other occupants of the dangerous platform, which fell with a loud crash as the last man leaped from it. Even as I am writing these words, twenty years later, the remains of the dead hero and patriot, General Grant, are ascending the same hill where Lincoln passed, to find a temporary resting place in the splendid Capitol—which has taken the place of the small and primitive one where Lincoln lay in state. The difference in grandeur between the old and the new Capitol symbolizes the difference between our country before and since the war.

The office of the adjutant-general when I entered it in January, 1861, was the finest in the old Capitol. With its deep-seated windows, to the east and the north, it commanded superb views of the park, the town, the river, and the opposite hills which rolled in undulating lines until they blended with the horizon. Its great size and height were in keeping with its huge fire-place in which great hickory logs burned cheerily. In this large and airy apartment, surrounded by paper-cases and specimens of arms, sat the adjutant-general with his assistant and clerk within sound of his voice. These handsome quarters had proved amply sufficient under all preceding administrations to accommodate the delegations from various parts of the State which from time to time called to pay their respects, or in answer to instructions came thither to deliver their views upon sundry military points.

But when war with its consequences burst like a thunder-cloud upon the astonished country, the place was deluged with an eager crowd which filled every available nook and overflowed into the adjoining halls and corridors. No one who did not witness it can imagine the excitement which ensued when Sumter fell and troops were called for to defend the national flag, and I can only feebly portray the patriotic thrill which ran from heart to heart, and brought thousands thronging to the Capitol. To receive the multitude in my hitherto spacious premises became impossible, and I was obliged to retire to a large room in the rear, formerly the Assembly Library, and to order the construction of two new rooms in a space taken from the great hall. These, together with my former room, I assigned to my assistant adjutants-general—who eventually numbered five instead of one—and to my ten or twelve clerks. My particular office was dark, cold and damp, and I often sighed for the commodious and sunny quarters which I had before occupied.

On the 17th of April, 1861, the requisition for troops of the President of the United States was received at Albany, and on the following day the governor issued his proclamation, and by his direction the adjutant-general promulgated the following:

GENERAL HEAD-QUARTERS—STATE OF NEW YORK,

General Orders, No. 13. | Adjutant-General's Office, Albany, *April* 18, 1861.

I. The President of the United States having made a requisition upon the State of New York for an aggregate force of 13,280 men, under the act of Congress approved February 28, 1795, "for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, repel invasions," &c., the Commander-in-Chief, in accordance with an act passed by the Legislature of this State, April 16th, 1861, entitled "An act to authorize the embodying and equipment of a volunteer militia, and to provide for the public defense," hereby directs the organization and enrollment of the quota so called for, in the following manner:

II. The forces will be divided into:

Two Divisions,

Four Brigades,

Seventeen Regiments, and

One hundred and seventy Companies; and will comprise two Major-Generals, with two Aids-de-Camp (rank of Major); two Division Inspectors (rank of Lieutenant-Colonel); four Brigadier Generals, with four Aids (rank of captain); four Brigade Inspectors (rank of Major); seventeen Colonels; seventeen Lieutenant-Colonels; seventeen Majors; seventeen Adjutants (rank of Lieutenant); seventeen Regimental Quartermasters (rank of Lieutenant); seventeen Surgeons; seventeen Surgeon's Mates; seventeen Sergeant-Majors; seventeen Drum-Majors, seventeen Fife-Majors; and each Company will comprise one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, four Sergeants, four Corporals, two musicians and sixty-four privates.

III. The force volunteering under the provisions of the said act, *will be enrolled for the term of two years*, unless sooner discharged.

IV. Privates and non-commissioned officers below the age of 18 years, or above the age of 45 years, will not be enrolled as volunteers, nor will any person of any age who is not "in physical strength and vigor."

V. Company rolls, in the form prescribed by the Adjutant-General (who upon application will furnish the same), must be signed by those volunteering, who shall indicate upon these rolls the names of the persons they shall desire to be commissioned as Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns of their respective companies. The persons thus indicated for the several company offices will, in like manner, specify upon the same rolls the names of the persons as field officers under whom they desire to serve. Whenever any such roll shall have been signed by at least thirty-two persons, and not more than seventy-seven, inclusive of the indicated commissioned officers of the company, it shall be transmitted to the Adjutant-General, who, upon its approval by the Commander-in-Chief, will direct some proper officer to inspect the company making the return, and to preside at an election, to

be determined by written ballot, for the choice of persons to fill the offices of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, four Sergeants and four Corporals. Upon the return of such inspection and election, the Adjutant-General will transmit to the officers so elected their commissions and warrants, with a notification that the company has been accepted into the service of the State, pursuant to the above mentioned act, and will also direct the commandant of the company to report himself and his command to such Brigadier-General as he may designate in charge of a depot of volunteers.

VI. Upon the assembling, at any designated depot, of six or more companies, thus organized, who shall have indicated the same persons as their choice for the field officers of the regiment to which they desire to be attached, the Brigadier-General in charge, will direct the assembling of their commissioned officers for an election, at which he shall preside, to determine, by written ballot, the choice of persons to fill such field offices. Should it so happen that companies assembled at any depot, without having indicated a preference for their field officers, on the reporting of at least six of such companies, the Brigadier-General in charge will, in like manner, direct the assembling of their commissioned officers for an election to fill the field offices of such regiment, and make return of these elections to the Adjutant-General, for the commissions of the officers elected, who will at once be assigned to their respective regiments.

VII. Should any additional companies or men be necessary to complete the organization of a regiment, it shall be recruited to its full complement and be mustered by the Inspector-General, and turned over by him to the authorities of the United States.

VIII. The pay and rations of the general officers, staff officers of the divisions and brigades, and of the field and staff officers and non-commissioned officers of regiments, shall commence from the date of their commissions or warrants. That of the company officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates, will commence from the date of the notification of the acceptance of the company by the Commander-in-Chief. The pay and rations will be the same as those of the officers and men of the same grade in the army of the United States, which will be discontinued on the part of the State when the force shall be mustered into the service of the General Government, and be resumed again by the State, on the return of the force to the State authorities. During the time the force is in the service of the United States the pay and rations will be furnished by the General Government.

IX. The requisite clothing, arms and accoutrements will be furnished at the expense of the State or the United States, to the non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates.

By order of the Commander-in-chief.

J. MEREDITH READ, JR.,
Adjutant-General.

The moment the above order was disseminated innumerable offers of service rolled in from all parts of the State ; and it is no exaggeration to say that the mails were burdened with matter, and hundreds of telegrams were received in a single day.

As early as the 9th of January, by the governor's direction, the adjutant-general had commenced to stir up a patriotic, military spirit, and if

the legislature had been equally wise, in answer to our urgent appeals, it would have immediately appropriated a sum sufficient to place the State upon a war footing. Had this been done everything would have been ready to meet the gigantic emergency which found us without arms, ammunition, accoutrements, clothing. Instead of the half of one million of dollars which we had asked for three months earlier, we found ourselves suddenly in possession of three millions and a half. But a large sum in such a moment is of little consequence when supplies are scarce, and when time is of such vital importance.

The situation was aggravated by the fact that a Board of State Officers had been created, by the laws of April 15th and 16th, who claimed the right to exercise, and did exercise functions which had hitherto belonged to the governor and commander-in-chief. The Board was unyielding, and the governor could not move without its consent. The struggle began upon the General Order No. 13, just cited, to which the Board was strenuously opposed. To add to the excitement, messages of the most urgent character came from all quarters urging the governor to assume the whole responsibility and to act independently of the Military Board—insisting with entire unanimity that he would be fully sustained by the people. But the governor was a law-abiding citizen who was unwilling to antagonize a body which had been formally constituted by the Senate and Assembly, especially as the attorney-general, the legal adviser of the Executive, was a prominent member and argued in season and out of season that the chief magistrate had no right to stir without the approval of those to whom the legislature had confided the fund for arming the the troops. In consequence of this absurd state of things the military authorities, instead of being enabled to attend to their legitimate duties, were obliged also to follow the whims of seven governors instead of one. The amount of strength and power which were subtracted by this process, from those engaged day and night in organizing, equipping and dispatching troops to uphold the Union, was simply incalculable. It is to be hoped that such an experiment will never be tried again.

When the General Order No. 13, just quoted, was read in the Military Board objections were immediately raised to the acceptance of companies by the governor. His Excellency replied that it was the form, so far as the same was possible; otherwise it would be necessary to have the State officers present all the while; that if they were absent he should feel it his duty to accept the companies as they presented themselves under the provisions of the above order. This position was dissented from by members of the

Board who held that as the law of April 16 conferred joint authority, it could not be exercised by a single member.

The comptroller offered the following: *Resolved*, that as soon as a sufficient number of companies of volunteers have their full complement of seventy-eight men each, including officers, this Board will proceed to pass upon the acceptance of such companies; and that when a sufficient number of companies, fully organized, are accepted, this Board will proceed to divide them into regiments and designate the companies to compose each regiment; and that the companies accepted by the governor since the last meeting of the Board, will, when filled, be distributed into regiments by resolution of this Board. The secretary of State, comptroller, attorney-general, and State engineer and surveyor voted in the affirmative, and the governor in the negative, and it was consequently adopted by a majority of four.

This clearly indicated the intentions of the Board to exercise executive functions, and the latter proceeded to emphasize their position by passing another resolution, viz.: That with a view to greater efficiency and dispatch in mustering volunteers into the service of the State under the late act of the legislature providing for that purpose, the governor is hereby authorized and empowered by this Board, in any case of emergency that may hereafter arise, when a meeting of a majority of this Board cannot speedily be obtained, to accept into the service of the State *such companies as when completed in conformity with the terms of the resolution yesterday adopted by this Board shall apply therefor*. The italics are mine, and indicate the sting in the tail of this measure. The governor of course voted against this resolution, because it was a direct reprimand, and if complied with would require the abrogation of General Order 13, which was already bearing admirable fruit.

In a future article we shall show how the matter resulted in a compromise—the issue of another order.

In the mean time the most stirring news was arriving at each instant, and the public mind was filled with increasing alarm, which found voice in excited appeals to the governor and adjutant-general. Enthusiastic men, ignorant of the real situation and impelled by patriotic feeling, telegraphed advice, even in peremptory terms. The following messages illustrate this point:

NEW YORK,
April 19, 1861.

Citizens of all parties demand that you should instantly order all available troops to Washington. Great complaint here.

ISAAC SHERMAN.

The secretary of War telegraphed, however, at the very same moment in an exactly opposite sense:

WASHINGTON,
April 19, 1861.

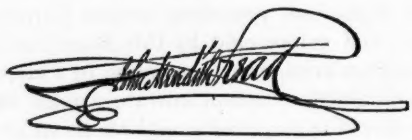
Wait for further directions.

SIMON CAMERON.

The governor had early in the morning of the 19th of April, before the reception of the foregoing, telegraphed to Mr. Cameron:

The Seventh Regiment leave for Washington to-day. I can send immediately to Washington additional regiments of our present militia force. Shall I do so, or wait for volunteer regiments?

Hearing nothing, he then directed me to order the Sixth, Twelfth and Seventy-first Regiments of New York, and the Twenty-fifth Regiment of Albany to Washington. Within half an hour after giving the above orders the telegram from Mr. Cameron arrived telling us "TO WAIT."



THE CLOSING DAYS OF LOUIS XIV

During the year 1715, the great ruler, who for a period of upwards of fifty years had, by his ambitious and restless spirit, kept Europe in a state of agitation and alarm, and whose influence had been that of a master mind for good or evil, advanced in years and bowed down by mental affliction and grave maladies, became, from day to day, more incompetent to wield the extensive powers intrusted to him.

When the great King became failing in his bodily health and despondent in spirit, everything was done about the Court to divert his mind and overcome the grief, lassitude, and *ennui* which oppressed him. Concerts, theatrical exhibitions, and other entertainments were arranged, in his private rooms, to give amusement to one who had exhausted life and its pleasures. Actors, dancers, and singers—the charms of beauty and the luxuries of the banquet, however, now gave no relief to his jaded mind, nor turned it from its sad contemplations. Madame de Maintenon, who had the task of entertaining him, exclaimed in despair: "What a punishment to have to amuse a man who is no longer to be amused!"

The diversions of Courts, the dreams of ambition, the incense of flattery no longer beguiled him from reflections on the vanity of life, nor from an appreciation of its mournful realities. He had been chastened in his pride and humbled in his power. The Past had chronicled disappointments and humiliations, as well as triumphs, and was reviewed with regret or self-condemnation. The Future opened visions of terror, which no reflection on his own grandeur could shut out; and *Conscience*—sternest of judges—began to unfold her pages, and to point to the records of a life of vice, and to deeds of selfishness and crime.

A prey to superstitious influences, and always prone to sectarian bigotry rather than to sincere devotion, the King had taken refuge in a new war against freedom of thought, under the influence of De Maintenon, and of his confessor, the Jesuit Le Tellier. Jansenism was now the object of attack; and the famous Bull, "*Unigenitus*," of September, 1713, concocted by Le Tellier and his *confrères*, condemning, as heretical, many theretofore orthodox doctrines of the Roman Church, was the result; and divided the French Church into two bitterly contending parties. One hundred and one propositions upheld by Quesnel and other followers of Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, were the subjects of this new crusade by the Pope, the King, and

the Jesuits, who formed alliance against anything that looked like Evangelicism in the Holy Church.

The decease of another grandson, the Duke de Berry, added to the many afflictions which desolated the spirit of the King during these latter days, and dulled the satisfaction he had experienced at overcoming all obstacles, and, at length, restoring peace to his afflicted country. The Duke de Berry died in May, 1714, after a few days' illness, of a mysterious disorder that bore a strong similarity to that which had carried off his brother, the Duke of Burgundy, and the wife of the latter. The deceased Prince is recorded as being sensible, truthful, and just; gay and frank in disposition, and, theretofore, in robust health. Poison was again suspected, but the mysterious hand that gave the cup remained unknown.

The King himself, about the middle of August, 1715, was attacked by his last malady in an acute form. His legs swelled, and gangrene became apparent, which gradually ate away his life in great suffering. On seeing this, the fickle Court began to waver in its homage, and to flutter toward the long-despised Duke of Orleans—the supposed rising sun—who became, now, active in his machinations for the Regency. The temporary relief afforded by palliatives, especially those prescribed by a quack from Marseilles—who claimed, also, to cure—at times brought back the sensitive Court, and the crowd about the future Regent sensibly diminished; but the malady was deep and mortal, and neither the subserviency of courtier nor the science of physician nor the elixir of empiric could stop the progress of the fell disease that preyed remorselessly upon the King. The oblivion and relief of sleep, even, was denied him, under the terrible pains that tortured the body and distracted the spirit.

Some days before his decease, he called for the heir to the Crown of France, his little great-grandson, then about five years of age. As he reclined on his last bed, the dying King spoke to his future successor, in the presence of assembled ministers and nobles, these pathetic and touching words—words which were ever in the memory of Louis XV., but never acted on:

"My child, you will soon be the King of a great kingdom; that which I recommend most strongly to you is to never forget your obligations toward God. Remember that you owe him all that you are. *Try to preserve peace with your neighbors. I have been too fond of war—do not imitate me in that, nor in the great expenses I have made.* Take advice in all things, and try to ascertain the best course, and follow it. Console your people as much as is in your power, and do that which I have been unable to accomplish myself. Never forget the obligations you owe to

Madame de Ventadour. Madame" (addressing her), "let me embrace him." Then taking the little child in his arms, and embracing him, the King, deeply affected, said:

"My dear child, I give you my benediction, with my whole heart." As the little Prince was about being taken off the bed, the King asked for and embraced him again; and, raising hands and eyes to Heaven, blessed him once more.

The eyes both of King and child were filled with tears, as were also those of all the courtiers and attendants present.

What a pathetic and touching picture! What a striking and beautiful subject for the pencil of painter, or the verse of poet—for the reflection of the moralist and the philosopher! The once all-powerful monarch now sinking under the burden of age and disease, on the verge of the unseen world—worn down by the weight of long years of care and the desolation that had struck his home—conscious, at length, of the helplessness of earthly honors—taking, as a last sad delight, to his arms the innocent child-king, in all his fresh and bubbling life, and pouring into his wondering ear, as if in confession, some of the errors and the sad experiences of a wearied existence.

Turning then to the assembled ministers and nobles, the King, raising his voice with earnestness, again spoke:

"I recommend to you this young King—he is not yet five years old. What want will he not have of your care and fidelity? Show him the same kindness you have for me. *I recommend you all to avoid wars—I have made too many—they were the cause of my loading the people with burdens, and I seek pardon of God for it.*"

Wearied by his thoughts, and depressed by the disease that was surely making its dread progress, the once proud monarch—now abased before the King of Kings—exclaimed, at times, as he pondered with compunction on his past career: "My God! life or death is all one to me now!—I only ask you for my salvation.—I have no restitutions to make as a private man, but as a Prince, who will pay the debts of the kingdom?—My God! I hope in your mercy.—I suffer—but I do not suffer enough; and that is what afflicts me!"

Lingering in anguish from day to day, waiting for the event, he cried: "Oh, my God! when will you bestow the grace on me of delivering me from this miserable life?—It is a long time since I have desired it, and I ask you for it, now, with my whole soul."

What a commentary—such dreary words—on past pride and power!

Louis' departure from life was characterized by decency, tranquillity, and

firmness; and, it may be said, by repentance toward God and man—a repentance not infrequent when age and disease have brought home their sad lessons of human helplessness. There was no more affectation of grandeur or superiority; but there was ever the courtesy that had graced his life, and that caused him, even now, to ask pardon of those at his bedside, who were moved to tears, for the distress he was causing them.

Wearied with these sad scenes, on the 30th of August, in the evening, Madame de Maintenon set off for St. Cyr—never again to behold the man who had ever treated her with confidence and respect, and whose generous kindness had raised her from obscurity to grandeur in the State.

At length, overcome by the great conqueror of all, and abandoned by her he had loved, on the first of September, Louis XIV. quitted the scenes of his pride and his power.

He exclaimed, as the scepter at last fell from his relaxing hands:

"Now is the hour of death.—Oh, my God! come to my aid, and hasten to succor me!"

Thus passed from the great political arena, in the 72d year of his age and the 57th of his reign, another royal shadow to its last account!

The decease of Louis XIV. closed an eventful epoch of European history—an epoch characterized by extraordinary political disturbance among States and Dynasties, and by a series of prolonged contests that spread over Western Europe, and were conducted by leaders whose names are still foremost in the annals of war and statesmanship. The Peace of Utrecht, which terminated this series of international disturbances, is memorable as making great and important changes in the political map of Europe. The development of thought, too, during this period, was marked, and was manifested in the extraordinary progress made in science and art; while master minds in literature, both in France and England, contributed to make the epoch brilliant and distinctive.

The decease of Louis XIV. caused no great regret in France—all classes, even the nobility, seemed to find relief in the cessation of this terrible reign. He left behind him troubles in the church and a discontented Parliament: the provinces were ruined, the kingdom was left overwhelmed with debt, the long wars had burdened the people with taxation, and the continuous sacrifice of life had brought sorrow to every home. The young nobility, long depressed by the dolorous features of a Court full of superannuated contemporaries of the late King, longed for the life and gayety promised by a new *régime;* and Frenchmen at large looked foward, with anxious hope, to some such change in the administration of government as would bring permanent benefit, and give the kingdom prosperity and re-

pose, after the prolonged drain upon its resources and the strain upon its vital powers. The old employees of the Court were glad to get rid of the yoke they had been suffering, and those seeking places were eager for the opportunities afforded by a change of reign.

It is related that, on the decease of the King, the people gave themselves up to festivities and wild rejoicings, and vociferated imprecations on his memory; and that the funeral *cortège* which bore his remains from human sight was obliged to pass through by-roads to St. Denis, in order to avoid the menaces and disorder of the mob. "The people," says a contemporary, "thanked God for their deliverance."

It would be no easy task to portray at length the character and attributes of this great King—the chief motor in the events of his time, and the grandest of all the actors moving on the historic scene. Born to rule over a great kingdom and a chivalrous and warlike people—with a power despotic, and a will left to its own biddings—receiving an adulation and homage sufficient to destroy, in most men, all sense of responsibility and of moral obligation—there is little wonder that great gifts of mind and heart were made subordinate to the brilliant circumstances of his surroundings and to the magnitude of his power. Ambition that knew no bounds, pride that acknowledged no superior, and love of a dominion that could brook no opposition, led him into courses of government that beggared and desolated his kingdom, and brought it to the verge of ruin. Thousands of his subjects became victims to his ambitious aims; and, to promote his grandeur and his pleasures, humanity was abased, and all principles of morality disregarded.

And yet, with all his faults there were great and noble qualities that well became a king. He was naturally good, humane, and just, with an elevation of character that placed truth and honor high and scorned deceit. Magnanimity that could readily pardon, sincerity that disdained petty artifice, courtesy that was never absent, and a courage that became heroic in adversity, were also among his prominent characteristics; but his love of glory caused his reign to be disastrous to humanity, and his bigotry stultified his character, and made him often cruel and unrelenting. It was not until the close of his reign—when chastened by adversity—disappointed and bereaved—that what was really great and good in him shone out with luster against the dark features of his earlier career.

If Louis had followed, from his youth, the precepts given by him to his grandson, the King of Spain, no monarch would have equaled him in the favorable verdict of posterity. The remarks of the keen-witted and eloquent St. Simon may be fitly added here: "Thus we see," he says

"this monarch, grand, rich, conquering—the arbiter of Europe—feared and admired as long as the ministers and captains existed who really deserved the name. When they were no more, the machine kept moving, sometime, by impulsion, and from their influence. But, soon afterward, we saw, beneath the surface: faults and errors were multiplied, and decay came on, with giant strides; without, however, opening the eyes of that despotic master, so anxious to do everything and direct everything, himself; and who seemed to indemnify himself for disdain abroad, by increasing fear and trembling, at home. So much for the reign of this vainglorious monarch!"

Voltaire's judgment is more eulogistic. "Although he has been reproached with small weaknesses, with severity in his treatment of Jansenism, with haughtiness in his treatment of foreigners in the days of his success, with vitiated moral tastes, with too great severity in matters personal to himself, with wars lightly undertaken, with the devastation of the Palatinate and the persecution of Protestants, nevertheless, his grand qualities and his actions, put in the balance, outweigh his faults. Time, which ripens the opinions of men, has put the seal on his reputation; and, in spite of all that has been written against him, his name will never be pronounced without respect, and without association with that period forever memorable."

The success and splendor of the earlier part of the reign of the great French King were much due to the ability of the men by whom he was surrounded. His choice of their successors showed weakness, and was prompted by a vanity that deemed his own powers sufficient for all the emergencies of the State, and believed that his fortunes could never decline.

Thence came disasters in the State and in the field, civil disorder, maladministration, official plunder, and oppressive taxation. All the great reforms and successes with which his reign began were reversed at its close.

The thirst of Louis XIV. for dominion gave example and impulse for a system of attack and spoliation between the European States that prevailed throughout the century, and caused the various leagues and alliances that were formed for international support and defense. Within his own territories the rule of Louis was almost despotic, and he loved to feel it so: to thwart his will or his desires might result in a life imprisonment, and libels against him were often punished by the scaffold. No intrusive writ of "*habeas corpus*" was there to penetrate into the dungeons of the Bastile, and every fortress held its prisoner of State who was innocent, and even ignorant, of offense. The whim of the monarch, the revenge of a

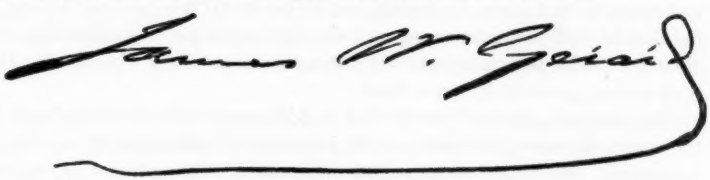
courtier, the greediness of an heir, the caprice of a favorite, trifled with the liberty and life of the subject, and helped to make firm a despotism from which there was no appeal, and which made light of the rights of humanity and the authority of law.

Under this reign, the royal prerogative was so extended and exercised that all other authority was practically annulled; and the exactions, the oppressions, the licentiousness, the wild excesses, the abuses tolerated and the rights outraged, under this and the following infamous reign, caused a reaction against the restraints of any government, which fell upon the head of the succeeding Bourbon—kindly and humane king that he was—and rested not until the Bourbon dynasty, once loved, was swept from the land—never to return, except for a new dismissal.

The rays of Liberty that had beamed in America, penetrating to France, and awakening her people to a knowledge of their political degradation, shone, in that country, lurid and terrible, through an atmosphere of crime and blood. They brought no bloom nor beneficent growth, but blasted and scorched. The wrathful people, eager for self-assertion, arose in the savagery of natures schooled amid the traditions of tyranny, fashioned amid vice, and irritated by the brutal oppression of irresponsible power.

The decrees of Jacobin clubs usurped the prerogatives of the Crown, the pike took the place of the scepter, law was administered by assassins, and the axe of the guillotine fell not only on Feudalism, but on Liberty!

The license and fury of the *many* far transcended the excesses of the despotism of the *one*, but were its legitimate and terrible results.



GENERAL GRANT

PROMINENT TRAITS OF HIS CHARACTER

The Honorable Hamilton Fish, who was Premier of the nation during the eight years of General Grant's Presidency, writes for the *New York Independent:*

My acquaintance with General Grant began in 1865, in Philadelphia, on his first visit to the North after the close of the war. Thereafter I saw him frequently. His son, Colonel Fred. D. Grant, was a cadet at West Point, and the General and his family often went there to see him. My country residence is on the Hudson River, immediately opposite West Point, and on the occasion of one of his visits I invited him to make my house his home on such occasions, and thereafter he and his family were frequently my guests. Thus acquaintance grew into intimacy, and ripened into friendship.

You ask, "What were his most prominent traits of character?" Well, with a man so full of strong distinctive traits, it is hard to say which may be most prominent; but I have been much impressed by his steady firmness and his generous magnanimity. His whole military career manifested his firmness both of purpose and of action. His answer to the War Department, "I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," was but the spontaneous utterance of his general fixedness of purpose.

He was generous and forgiving in the extreme; not that he could not hate well when he had cause for hating, but he never did hate without having, or thinking that he had, sufficient cause, and was ever ready for an explanation and reconciliation. With few exceptions his dislikes were not long cherished. He was too busy and to generous to nurse them.

His unselfish generosity at the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Appomattox stand out among the most noted instances of magnanimity on the part of a conqueror. He sought no triumphal entry into the Confederate capital, which had been the objective point of years of maneuvering and of fighting; he fed the army which he had defeated, and gave to Lee and his army terms of capitulation and surrender that commanded the admiration of the civilized world, and to this day receive the grateful acknowledgment of those who were their recipients.

After Sherman had accepted terms of surrender from Johnston, which the Government had so far disapproved as to send Grant to supersede him, instead of taking to himself the credit of Johnston's surrender on terms satisfactory to the Government and to the people, he telegraphed, "Johnston has surrendered to Sherman," leaving the full credit to Sherman of what he himself had accomplished.

On his tour through the South after the war, to investigate, for the Govern-

ment, the condition of the people, he showed a broad, generous spirit. His report was denounced by some politicians in Washington as a "whitewashing report;" but, had it been acted upon, there would have been no "solid South," and the restoration of good feeling would have taken place soon after the war had closed.

His feeling toward the South was, throughout his civil administration, in accord with that which he had exhibited in dictating the terms of surrender to Lee—full of generosity and of confidence. That confidence arose from the respect which a brave soldier has for the bravery and sincerity of those whom he has fought, and was undoubtedly increased by his visit through the South shortly after the war had closed.

He was anxious to give appointments to Southern men; but in several instances gentlemen from the South, who had been engaged in the Rebellion, and to whom he was willing to offer appointments, refused to accept them.

The President, in the disposal of offices over the wide extent of the United States, must depend upon the representations of others for his information as to the character and capacity of the larger number of those who are to fill the public offices on his appointment. These representations are not always candid, and, even when honestly given, are not always correct. Unfortunately—perhaps owing to the quarrel between Andrew Johnson and the Congress, or from whatever cause, and notwithstanding the very friendly and favorable report of the feeling and the behavior of the Southern people made by Grant to Congress, after his tour through their States—the Southern men of note and of prominence held themselves aloof, and not only would not volunteer advice, but often withheld information when asked.

The result was inevitable. At the close of the war, the condition of the South, now opened to a new class of labor, seemed to afford a wide field for industry and enterprise, and tempted a large class of men from the North, whose business had been broken up by the war, to seek their fortunes, and to cast their lot with the South.

The South had had little experience of an "immigrant" population. It was jealous and suspicious of the new-comer; perhaps, under the circumstances, not unnaturally so, but very unfortunately so. Of those who went among them, very many were men of character, enterprise, and simple purpose, migrating with none other than a sincere desire of becoming part and parcel of the community among whom they went. Others there were—adventurers of the "Dugald Dalgetty" stripe—ready to take whatever chance might throw in their way. Their "chances" were advanced by the quarrel, then at its height, between President Johnson and the Congress, and they lost no opportunity of playing upon the passions already unduly excited. The North was flooded with accounts of indignities and outrages heaped upon Northern men, and of the continued disloyalty of the South; and the South, smarting under its defeat and loss of property, isolated itself, and became united in a political combination bitter in its antagonism to the ruling power

in the nation. Such was the condition when General Grant came to the Presidency and found nearly all of the Federal offices at the South filled by men of Northern birth. He felt the wrong of such condition, and desired to change it; but the reticence of Southern men, and their unwillingness to co-operate with him, or to give advice or information to aid him in the matter of appointments to office, left him unable to carry his wishes in this regard into effect.

His knowledge of men was generally accurate; but he was apt in this respect, as in others, to reach his conclusions rapidly, and was thus not infrequently led to give his confidence where it was not deserved; and it was from the abuse of his confidence, thus reposed, that rose most of the censure which, after the close of the war, was visited upon him.

Where he gave his friendship he gave it *unreservedly*—whether friendship or confidence, he gave it unreservedly—and was slow to believe anything to the discredit of those of whom he was fond.

When he entered upon the Presidency he did so without much, if any, previous experience in civil administration. He soon, however, very soon, made himself thoroughly familiar with all the questions that were brought to his consideration, and he may truly be said to have applied himself to the great problems of government.

In his Cabinet meetings his habit was to bring before his counselors such questions as might have been suggested to him, either by friends or as the result of his own thought. He would generally ask of the members of his Cabinet, in order or successively, their views, and would then reach his own conclusion, and direct the course to be pursued which he thought best. So far as my own department was concerned, he kept thoroughly up with all the questions that arose; and, so far as I could judge, he was equally familiar with the questions in each of the other departments.

He was very free to accept the opinions and views of his Cabinet, often antagonistic to his own preconceived notions. As an instance of this, when the inflation bill had passed Congress, and was strenuously urged upon him for approval by many of his most influential friends in each house of Congress, and by a majority of his Cabinet, he at first reluctantly yielded to a determination to approve the bill, and prepared a paper to be submitted to Congress, explaining his reasons for approval of the bill, which paper was laid before the Cabinet, but not read. I had most strenuously advocated his vetoing the bill, and an evening or two previous to this Cabinet meeting he sent for me and read me the paper. Having done it, he remarked: "The more I have written upon this, the more I don't like it; and I have determined to veto the bill, and am preparing a message accordingly." At the Cabinet meeting he stated that he had prepared a paper assigning the reasons for approving the bill, but had determined not to present it, and had written another message vetoing the bill, which he then read to the Cabinet and subsequently sent to Congress. He had consulted his own good sense, and had given careful study by himself to this important question affecting the currency.

Another illustration of his readiness to yield a preconceived opinion is afforded by his action concerning the Treaty of Washington. After the beginning of negotiations about the treaty, it became necessary to determine upon commissioners on the part of the United States. I felt it important that the commission should not be partisan, and that there should be at least one Democrat on it. The suggestion at first did not strike the President as important, and it was opposed by many of his confidential friends; but on presenting the question fully and strongly to him he abandoned his position, and decided the question in favor of appointing Judge Nelson as one of the commissioners. Subsequently, when an arbitrator was to be appointed to the tribunal at Geneva, strong objections were urged from various quarters against the selection of Charles Francis Adams, which made an impression adverse to him in the mind of General Grant—strongly adverse. But upon my urging upon him that Mr. Adams was more familiar than any other man with the incidents attending the escape of the rebel cruisers, that he had conducted the legation in London during the Rebellion with admirable discretion and under a great deal of personal trial, and was entitled to recognition, General Grant cordially yielded his opposition, and over-ruled the objections of many close and confidential political advisers.

So, too, was it in the appointment of Mr. Evarts as counsel. Some things had occurred at the close of Johnson's administration, while Mr. Evarts was Attorney-General, which left a strong feeling of irritation in General Grant; but on the representation of Mr. Evarts' ability, and his fitness for the position, he yielded all personal feeling, and cordially agreed to his appointment. As a general rule, he asserted his own views tenaciously and firmly.

Until his election to the Presidency, I don't think he had taken much interest in party politics. He had been brought up—following the political views of his father—in sympathy with the old Whig Party. But while in the army he never voted until the election between Fremont and Buchanan, when, from want of confidence in General Fremont's civil capacity, and being then out of the army, he voted for Buchanan. And he often, jokingly, said to me, that his "first attempt in politics had been a great failure."

He was not indifferent to public criticism, but not unduly excited by it. I never knew him but once to be led into an action of the policy or expediency of which he had doubt by the criticism of the press or the public. It was not a very important matter, relating only to the employment of a certain individual, in the conveyance of a message, whom a hostile journal had boastfully said should never again be thus employed.

I never met any one who formed, in advance, better estimates of elections that were about to take place than General Grant. On the evening preceding the Presidential election of 1872 I was sitting with him, and he gave the probable result in each of the States. I noted it down, and found that it varied in each State almost inappreciably.

He was not a great reader. He wrote with fluency, tersely, strongly, and with great rapidity. He was methodical in his habits, and punctilious in the discharge of whatever duties might be before him.

He had no historical models, but worked out his own course from his good sense and thoughtfulness. He formed his opinions, apparently, from intuition.

I think he was the most scrupulously truthful man I ever met. He had little idea of the value of money, and had no tendency to its accumulation. He was lavish in his expenditures and generous in his charities. He gave to all who asked of him, being often unnecessarily and unwisely profuse in his donations. I have not infrequently known him to give sums from five to ten times the amount of what the applicants could have reasonably or probably expected.

In his family he was the fondest and most indulgent and liberal of husbands and fathers.

He had a large fund of humor, enjoyed a good story, and had the faculty of telling a good story, and of telling it well. I never heard him use a profane or an obscene word.

The habit of public speaking came to him after the end of his Presidency. While he was President, on one occasion a large body of clergymen called upon and made him a long address to which he had to reply, and which he always disliked to do. After a sentence or two I noticed that his voice faltered, and fearing that he might be at a loss what next to say, standing next to him, I caused a diversion by beginning to cough violently so as to interrupt his speech. He afterward told me how fortunate it was for him that I had *that* cough, as he had felt his knees begin to shake, and did not think that he could have spoken another word.

His indignation was always intense against any case of marital infidelity; and I have known an instance of his refusing consideration of applications in favor of an individual of high public position who lay under such a charge. And once, where a man of much political influence, who had been thus guilty, recommended and was urging upon him some action, the General remarked, after his withdrawal: "That man had better take care of his own moral conduct than come and give advice to me on any question."

He was strongly impressed with religious views, and was a firm believer in the fundamental principles of Christianity. He was brought up in connection with the Methodist Church, which he attended in Washington. On the Sunday either succeeding or preceding—I don't remember which—his second election in 1872 he invited his Cabinet, in a body, to accompany him to the Metropolitan Church in Washington, which he was in the habit of attending, to listen to a sermon from Dr. Newman appropriate to the occasion. The moral side of questions of a public nature, or otherwise, whether presented by his Cabinet or by his friends, always had influence with him.

Before strangers, or before a large number of persons, he was naturally inclined to be taciturn. But few men had more powers of conversation and of narration

than he when in the company of intimate friends, without the restraints imposed by numbers.

His memory was minute and accurate to a degree. He was not fond of talking of the war, or of his battles; but when he could be induced or led to the subject, he would carry it through, giving the incidents of a fight, stating minutely, at the various stages of the engagement, the location of each division or separate corps or regiment.

I asked him once: "General, in case we should get into another war, how about our armies?"

"Well," he said, "we have the best men in the world to lead them. No three men living are more capable of leading an army or conducting a campaign than the men we have. There is a difference between fighting and planning and conducting a campaign; but there are no three men living better fitted to plan a campaign and to lead armies than Sherman, Sheridan, and Schofield."

I said: "But I hope we may have no war until these gentlemen may be too old to lead our armies. What then?"

"There are young men coming up who will quite fill their places."

"Such as who?"

He answered: "Upton, McKenzie, Wilson; and there are more."

He said that during the battles around Richmond he placed McKenzie in charge of the cavalry operating with Sheridan, and this assignment of command at once added fifty per cent. to the efficiency of that division of cavalry.

You ask, "What position will General Grant take in the history of this country?" I hope it will not be considered irreverent to say that Washington, Lincoln, and Grant will be regarded as a political trinity—the one the founder, the second the liberator, and the third the saviour of the United States. It is admirably illustrated in that medallion in which they are represented as the *pater*, the *liberator*, and the *salvator*. The work of each was necessary to the completion of the whole.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF GENERAL GRANT

In a sermon preached in the Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, New York, on the 26th of July, 1885, Rev. O. H. Tiffany, D.D., the well-known pastor of the Metropolitan Church in Washington during General Grant's administration, said:

The first time I ever saw General Grant was on a visit that he made to Chicago near the close of the war. I had been requested by the governor of the State to assist in raising funds for the purchase of a soldiers' orphan home, and had informed the governor that with his and General Grant's indorsement I believed the effort would be a success. I was impressed with the aptness of the questions which General Grant put to me; they were brief, methodical, and seemed to cover the whole ground. Appointing the next day for an interview, at the hour

named I found him in a room full of friends and visitors. When recognizing me, he directed one of his aids to bring writing materials, and sat down in the midst of the confusion and wrote a commendation of the enterprise to the people of the State, who gladly responded.

A trait of his character was developed when on a subsequent visit to the same city he remained there over Sunday. Great interest was manifested in knowing where he would worship on that day. Pews were offered for his use in almost all the principal churches, and carriages were proffered by their owners for his accommodation. On Saturday afternoon he sent one of his aids to inquire of a well-known Methodist lady whether a clergyman by the name of Vincent, who used to preach in Galena, was not preaching somewhere in Chicago, and was informed that Mr. Vincent was pastor of Trinity Church in the southern part of the city. Trinity Church was then a mission station, and Dr. Vincent had not attained his present conspicuous position. And so, on Sunday the General quietly, with his staff, entered a carriage and drove down unannounced to worship in the little church, and listen to a sermon by the pastor whom he had heard in his former home.

I next met him at a reception given by ex-Governor Ward, of New Jersey, at his residence in Newark. The question of my going to Washington was then under consideration, and the General very kindly offered to make me welcome, and encouraged the idea of my going. This interview became memorable with me, for I left the house of Governor Ward, in company with Senator Frelinghuysen and Justice Bradley, and as we separated we noticed that the illuminated clock of one of the churches pointed to the hour of one, and there were doubts expressed as to our complying with the request of General Grant to meet him at the railroad at seven next morning. We did so, however, and came to New York with him, and were surprised to read subsequently in the press a total misrepresentation of the facts in the case, occasion having been made by ribald defamers of the General to invent a succession of excesses, and to wickedly decry his good name and personal respectability. When I went to Washington to become pastor of the Metropolitan Church, I found him one of the most regular of the congregation in attendance upon public worship. He seemed to be scrupulously careful on this matter, frequently explaining, when necessarily absent, the occasion of his non-attendance. His attention to the service was marked and unflagging, and the subjects of sermons were frequently matters of subsequent conversation. He never seemed conscious of the fact that the eyes of the great congregation were often fixed upon him, and always in passing out at the minister's private exit (to avoid the crowd) he spoke cheerily and appreciatingly to the clergyman. He enjoyed all of the religious services of the church excepting the singing, having a constitutional inability to appreciate music. He told me once that all music seemed to affect him as discord would a sensitive and cultivated ear, and that he would go a mile out of his way rather than listen to the playing of a band ; and when the hymn to be sung consisted of four stanzas, he experienced a feeling of relief as each one was sung, and so disposed of.

Not long after my arrival in Washington, at a reception given by ex-Postmaster-General King, I was asked by his daughter whether it was true, as she had heard, that General Grant had never sworn a profane oath. I was surprised at the question, and took opportunity to speak to the General about it; when he told me that he never had used profane language, and he was quite sure if he had ever done so under any provocation he would have remembered it. On one occasion a friend whom I wished to hear was to preach for me on a Sunday night. I called upon the President to inform him of this fact, and said that I had done so because I had observed that he attended service only once on a Sunday, and thought that if he knew of this arrangement for the pulpit he might prefer to attend the evening service. He said to me: "I am glad of an opportunity to explain this matter to you. Secretary Fish and some others have an absurd notion that I ought not to walk about the streets of Washington at night, and consequently I never get to the evening service, though I should be glad to do so." And seeing that I was surprised by this statement, he said: "Perhaps you think that I might have the carriage and ride to service; but, Doctor, when I was a poor man, long before I ever thought that I should have a servant, I made up my mind that if I ever did have one, he should have his hours of Sunday for worship; and no servants or horses are ever called into use by me upon that day for my own personal convenience."

I was a stranger to him when I assumed that pulpit, and his Methodist training and education is shown in an incident narrated to me by Bishop Ames. There is in Washington a Methodist church much nearer to the White House than the Metropolitan, and the official members of that church believed that it would be greatly to its interest if a minister who was well known to the General, and much liked by him, could be induced to become their pastor and the General induced to attend the service. And they waited upon him with a statement of their views, when General Grant simply remarked to the spokesman at the interview, that he believed it was the Methodist custom to change pastors and not to change churches. Some months before his second inauguration he asked me if I expected to be at home on the Sunday preceding that ceremony. I informed him that I did, and asked him why he put the question. He said he thought it would be appropriate to invite the members of his Cabinet to attend service with him on that day. Accordingly, they were invited, and came. Chief Justice Chase, learning of this intention, invited the members of the Supreme Court; and perhaps this is the only occasion in the history of the Government that these chief officers, with other military and civil functionaries, have been present at a similar religious service.

The home life in the White House during the Grants' residence was beautiful in its domestic simplicity and purity, and the influence of the family in society was markedly beneficial. In former times, public receptions had been made the occasion of conviviality and excess; and the banishment of wine and spirits from the public receptions of the office was requested by General Grant, and promptly

complied with. Due credit was never given by temperance crusaders and politicians to the wholesome effect of this, and the admirable example thus set before the American people. The tenderness and love of the General for his family was simple and unrestrained—without affectation, without ostentation. It was a sore trial to both parents to allow their daughter to leave their home ; but when, after complying with the General's direction that Mr. Sartoris should become an American citizen, he took the necessary steps, their consent was given. The marriage took place in the East Room of the White House, and was conducted, according to our Methodist forms, with simplicity and dignity ; but the parting of the father from his only daughter seemed for a time to completely unnerve him. I found him in the evening of that day sad and depressed and lonely. His treasure had gone, and was to be parted from him by the seas ; for a death had occurred in the Sartoris family which made it necessary that Mr. Sartoris should return to his English home. The life of that daughter was to him an inspiration. He longed for her presence, and wistfully counted the hours of their necessary separation, and rejoiced at the promised speed of the vessel which would bring her to him. Her face was fittingly the last upon which his conscious gaze rested, and the love of the two has thus become immortal.

He was silent under bitter accusation and calumny, and I remember well one evening at the White House when my family and Mr. Colfax and his sister were the only guests. Mr. Colfax remarked : "During the campaign, General, I marveled at the quietness of your endurance of wrong and misrepresentation. Now that I myself am passing under similar trials, it seems to me that your endurance was almost more than human." The General quietly remarked, "Did you ever believe, Mr. Colfax, that I was insensible to it, and that it did not hurt?" He made no special religious profession, and yet he was a man of religious habit, and thoroughly honest and earnest in his belief in a superintending Providence, regarding certain facts in history as inexplicable without this, and admiring the firm faith of a devoted sister, and reverencing, with a sacredness that was beautiful in its exhibition, the piety of his parents.

He made a visit of a week to Martha's Vineyard, which was then, as now, my summer home. I preached a sermon on the victory of the faith from the text, "They overcame him by the Blood of the Lamb." He was more moved than I had ever seen him under a discourse, and at the close of the sermon, at his suggestion, we wandered away from the crowd, and engaged in earnest and serious conversation. He said, "Why is there so much stress laid on the blood in your preaching and in the New Testament?" I explained to him in the simplest terms the doctrine of atonement, and he seemed fully to comprehend it. The giving up of life as a test of love was an incontrovertible argument to a man who had led thousands through death to victory, and I have always had a strong confidence that on that day the General had a personal realization of the truth as it is in Jesus.

AN INCIDENT OF VICKSBURG—GENERAL GRANT'S KINDNESS REMEMBERED

On the 5th of July, 1863, a Southern planter and Mrs. Dockery, of Arkansas, slowly made their way to General Grant's head-quarters, in the rear of Vicksburg. The day before the long, tedious siege ended in the surrender of the Confederate forces to General Grant. All was, therefore, in confusion and bustle, but the Union soldiers were in excellent humor, and offered no opposition to the progress of the two visitors to see the "old man," as they loved to call their commander. Mrs. Dockery was the wife of a Confederate brigadier-general who took part in the defense of the city. During the siege she had remained eleven miles in the rear of Vicksburg with the planter and his family. She could hear the fearful cannonading all during the long combat, and at times the reports of the cannon were as rapid as the notes of a quick tune on a violin. As soon as the city surrendered, she determined to hear the fate of her husband, so she persuaded the planter to get an old dilapidated buggy left on the place by some of the straggling soldiers, and with harness improvised with old straps, ropes, and strings, and a mule caught on the highway, to attempt the trip to General Grant's head-quarters.

The mule pulled the buggy and its two occupants along the hot, dusty road at a lively pace, and by eleven o'clock Grant's shady retreat, about three miles to the rear of Vicksburg, was reached. His head-quarter tents were pitched just a little to the north of the old Jackson road, on a ridge thickly covered with dense shade trees. As soon as the guards were reached, a sergeant informed the two they could proceed no further, as he knew General Grant would not see them. Mrs. Dockery, with tears in her eyes, begged the soldiers to go to Grant and tell him that a lady in great distress wished only to see him just "one little minute." The officer went into the General's tent, remained only one instant, returned, and invited Mrs. Dockery and the planter to walk in. They left the buggy with the guards, and tremblingly approached Grant's tent. What was their agreeable surprise to be cordially invited by Grant himself to be seated. Before hardly a word was spoken Grant instructed an orderly to serve his guests with cool water, and insisted on Mrs. Dockery taking an easy-chair, which he vacated for her. As soon as Mrs. Dockery could command language, she poured into the General's ears her fears that her husband was wounded or dead, and asked for a pass to go to Vicksburg and learn what was his fate. Grant replied, almost word for word, as follows: "Madam, General Grant has issued an order that there shall be no passing to and from Vicksburg, and he cannot set the example of violating his own orders."

Mrs. Dockery was in tears when she said: "Oh, my God! what shall I do?"

A smile almost passed over Grant's face as he replied: "Oh, don't distress yourself; I will take it upon myself to get news from your husband. He must be a gallant fellow to have won such a devoted wife."

"But when will you find out for me? Can you not see this suspense is almost killing me?" replied the lady.

"Right now," said Grant; "and you shall be my guest until my orderly can fly to General Pemberton's head-quarters and get the news."

Grant instantly instructed one of his aids to write a note to General Pemberton, and inquire of him whether or not General Dockery, of Bowen's division, had escaped unharmed, and all the news about him, as Mrs. Dockery was at his head-quarters exceedingly anxious to know. While the orderly was gone General Grant's dinner was served, and Mrs. Dockery and the planter dined with him and his friends. There were perhaps twenty generals, colonels, majors, aids, and others at the table, but not one of them spoke a word that could wound the feelings of the General's guests. The General himself was exceedingly agreeable, and instead of talking about war, or anything pertaining to it, devoted himself to getting all the information he could about the South and its productions. No cotton planter ever evinced more interest in cotton than did the great soldier to whom a strong city had surrendered the day before.

Soon after dinner the orderly returned with a note from General Pemberton, stating that General Dockery was in excellent health and would visit his wife as soon as General Grant would permit it. General Grant smiled and said: "You shall see him in a day or two; just as soon as we can fix things a little. I'll not forget your name, and of course will have to remember him."

When the General's visitors arose to depart, he assured them he appreciated their call, and taking a scrap of paper wrote on it for the guards to pass Mr. and Mrs. Dockery to their home, and signed his name. Only one picket had to be passed, but the pass looked so much more common than those regularly issued that the guard scanned it closely. When he read Grant's own signature, he said: "Humph, the 'old man' got to writing passes? Let them by."—*Vicksburg Commercial.*

GENERAL GRANT'S REMARKABLE CAREER

At the funeral service for General Grant at Augusta, Maine, on the 8th of August, the Hon. James G. Blaine said:

Public sensibility and personal sorrow over the death of General Grant are not confined to one continent. A profound admiration for great qualities, and still more profound gratitude for great services, have touched the heart of the people with true sympathy, increased even to tender emotions by the agony of his closing days and the undoubted heroism with which he morally conquered a last cruel fate. The world in its hero worship is discriminating and practical, if not, indeed, selfish. Eminent qualities and rare achievements do not always insure lasting fame. The hero for the age is he who has been chief and foremost in contributing to the moral and material progress, to the grandeur and glory of the succeeding generation. Washington secured the freedom of the colonies and founded a new nation. Lincoln was the prophet who warned the people of the evils that were undermining our free government, and the statesman who was called to leadership

in the work of their extirpation. Grant was the soldier who, by victory in the field, gave vitality and force to the policies and philanthropic measures which Lincoln defined in the Cabinet for the regeneration and security of the Republic.

The monopoly of fame by the few in this world comes from an instinct, perhaps from a deep-seated necessity of human nature. Heroes cannot be multiplied, units only survive. General Grant's name will survive through the centuries, because it is indissolubly connected with the greatest military and moral triumph in the history of the United States. If the armies of the Union had ultimately failed, the vast and beneficent designs of Lincoln would have been frustrated, and he would have been known in history as a statesman and philanthropist who, in the cause of humanity, cherished great aims which he could not realize, and conceived great ends which he could not attain—as an unsuccessful ruler whose policies distracted and dissevered his country—while General Grant would have taken his place with that long and always increasing array of great men who were found wanting in the supreme hours of trial.

General Grant's military supremacy was honestly earned, without factious praise and without extraneous help. He had no influence to urge his promotion except such as was attracted by his own achievements. He had no potential friends except those whom his victories won to his support. He rose more rapidly than any military leader in history from the command of a single regiment to the supreme direction of a million of men, divided into many great armies and operating over an area as large as the empires of Germany and Austria combined. He exhibited extraordinary qualities in the field. Bravery among American officers is a rule which has, happily, had few exceptions; but as an eminent general said, Grant possessed a quality above bravery. He had an insensibility to danger, apparently an unconsciousness of fear. Besides that, he possessed an evenness of judgment to be depended upon in sunshine and in storm. Napoleon said, "The rarest attribute among generals is two-o'clock-in-the-morning courage. I mean," he added, "unprepared courage; that which is necessary on an unexpected occasion, and which, in spite of the most unforeseen events, leaves full freedom of judgment and promptness of decision." No better description could be given of the type of courage which distinguished General Grant. His constant readiness to fight was another quality which, according to the same great authority, established his right as a commander. "Generals," said the exile at St. Helena, "are rarely found eager to give battle; they choose their positions, consider their combinations, and their indecision begins. Nothing," added this greatest warrior of modern times—"nothing is so difficult as to decide." General Grant in his services in the field never once exhibited indecision, and it was this quality that gave him his crowning characteristic as a military leader. He inspired his men with a sense of their invincibility, and they were thenceforth invincible. The career of General Grant, when he passed from military to civil administration, was marked by his strong qualities. His Presidency of eight years was filled with events of magnitude in which, if his judg-

ment was sometimes questioned, his patriotism was always conceded. He entered upon his office after the angry disturbance caused by the singular conduct of Lincoln's successor, and quietly enforced a policy which had been for four years the cause of bitter disputation. His election to the Presidency proved in one important aspect a landmark in the history of the country. For nearly fifty years preceding that event there had been few Presidential elections in which the fate of the Union had not in some degree been agitated, either by the threats of political malcontents or in the apprehension of timid patriots. The Union was saved by the victory of the Army commanded by General Grant. No menace of its destruction has ever been heard since General Grant's victory before the people. Death always holds a flag of truce over its own. Under that flag friend and foe sit peacefully together, passions are stilled, benevolence is restored, wrongs are repaired, justice is done. It is impossible that a career so long, so prominent, so positive as that of General Grant should not have provoked strife and engendered enmity. For more than twenty years, from the death of Lincoln to the close of his own life, General Grant was the most conspicuous man in America, one to whom leaders looked for leadership, upon whom partisans built their hopes of victory, to whom personal friends, by tens of thousands, offered their sincere devotion. It was according to the weakness and the strength of human nature that counter-movements should ensue; that General Grant's primacy should be challenged; that his party should be resisted; that his devoted friends should be confronted by jealous men in his own ranks and by bitter enemies in the ranks of his opponents. But all these passions and all these resentments are buried in the grave which to-day receives his remains. Contention respecting his rank as a commander ceases, and Unionists and Confederates alike testify to his powers in battle and his magnanimity in peace. The controvesy over his civil administration closes, as Democrats and Republicans unite in pronouncing him to have been in every act and every aspiration an American patriot.

ENGLAND'S ESTIMATE OF GENERAL GRANT

At the imposing funeral service for General Grant in Westminster Abbey,* August 4, 1885, Canon Farrar said:

To-day we assemble at the obsequies of the great soldier whose sun set while it was yet day, and at whose funeral service in America tens of thousands are assembled

* The *Saturday Review*, in commenting upon this impressive scene, called attention to the fact that never before has there been a service of this nature held in the Abbey for any other than an Englishman. Memorials have been frequently placed among the tablets; but a funeral, and a funeral discourse from the Canon—a funeral attended by persons representing the royal family, and by the present Premier, the ex-Premier, the Commander-in-Chief, and a long list of official and titled persons—for a foreigner, is the most impressive and touching mark of sympathy and friendship which it is possible for one nation to bestow upon another. It is quite certain that this departure from custom would not have been made for any country but the United States, nor for any citizen of the United States except General Grant. It is evident, too, that the movement

at this moment to mourn with the weeping family and friends. I desire to speak simply and directly, with generous appreciation, but without idle flattery, of him whose death has made a nation mourn. His private life, his faults or failings of character, whatever they may have been, belong in no sense to the world. They are before the judgment of God's merciful forgiveness. We will touch only upon his public actions and service.

Upon a bluff overlooking the Hudson his monument will stand, recalling to future generations the dark page in the nation's history which he did so much to close. * * * If the men who knew him in Galena, obscure, silent, unprosperous, unambitious, had said—if any one had predicted—that he would become twice President and one of the foremost men of the day, the prophecy would have seemed extravagantly ridiculous. But such careers are the glory of the American continent; they show that the people have a sovereign insight into intrinsic force. If Rome told with pride that her dictators came from the plough, America may record the answer of the President who, when asked what would be his coat of arms, answered, proudly mindful of his early struggles, "A pair of shirt-sleeves." The answer showed a noble sense of the dignity of labor, a noble superiority to the vanities of feudalism, a strong conviction that men should be honored simply as men, not according to the accident of birth. America has had two martyred Presidents, both sons of the people. One, a homely man, who was a farm lad at the age of seven, a rail-splitter at nineteen, a Mississippi boatman at twenty-eight, and who in manhood proved one of the strongest, most honest and God-fearing of modern rulers. The other grew, from a shoeless child, to be a humble teacher in the Hiram Institute. With those Presidents America need not blush to name the leather-seller of Galena. Every true man derives a patent of nobleness direct from God. Was not the Lord for thirty years a carpenter in Nazareth? Lincoln's and Garfield's and Grant's early conscientious attention to humble duties fitted them to become kings of men.

The year 1861 saw the outbreak of the most terrible of modern wars. The hour came and the man was needed. Within four years Grant commanded an army vaster than had ever before been handled by man. It was not luck, but the result

was a spontaneous one. It came from the deep feeling of the English people appropriately seconded by the throne and the governing powers. It is a token of brotherhood that has never before been rendered by either country to the other.

The stately edifice was crowded with a congregation nearly every member of which was a distinguished person. Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone were among the number, also Prime Minister Salisbury, the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief of the British army, the Marquis of Lorne, General Lord Wolseley, the Earl of Iddesleigh, the Earl of Harrowby, Earl Cranbrook, Sir Lyon and Lady Playfair, the Duke and Duchess of Teck. Adjutant-General Sir Archibald Alison, Sir Gerald Gresham, Right Hon. Mr. Forster, Lord Houghton, the Right Hon. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, Chief Justice Waite of the United States, who came from Scotland, ex-Attorney-General Brewster, and Senators Edmunds and Hawley. Queen Victoria, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, and the Duke of Edinburgh were represented by equerries.

of inflexible faithfulness, indomitable resolution, sleepless energy, iron purpose, persistent tenacity. He rose by the upward gravitation of natural fitness. The very soldiers became impregnated with his spirit. General Grant has been grossly and unjustly called a butcher. He loved peace and hated bloodshed. But it was his duty at all costs to save the country. The struggle was not for victory, but for existence ; not for glory, but for life or death. In his silence, determination, and clearness of insight, Grant resembled Washington and Wellington. In the hottest fury of battles his speech never exceeded "yea, yea," and "nay, nay." God's light has shown for the future destinies of a mighty nation that the war of 1861 was a necessary—a blessed work. The Church has never refused to honor the faithful soldier fighting for the cause of his country and his God. The cause for which Grant fought—the unity of a great people, the freedom of a whole race—was as great and noble as when at Lexington the embattled farmers fired the shot which resounded around the world. The South accepted a bloody arbitrament. But the rancor and fury of the past are buried in oblivion. The names of Lee and Jackson will be a common heritage with those of Garfield and Grant. Americans are no longer Northerners and Southerners, but Americans.

What verdict history will pronounce upon Grant as a politician and a man I know not; but here and now the voice of censure, deserved or undeserved, is silent. We leave his faults to the mercy of the merciful. Let us write his virtues on brass for men's example. Let his faults, whatever they may have been, be written on water. Who can tell if his closing hours of torture and misery were not blessings in disguise—God purging the gold from dross until the strong man was utterly purified by his strong agony? Could we be gathered in a more fitting place to honor General Grant? There is no lack of American memorials here. We add another to-day. Whatever there be between the two nations to forget and forgive is forgotten and forgiven. If the two peoples which are one be true to their duty, who can doubt that the destinies of the world are in their hands? Let America and England march in the van of freedom and progress, showing the world not only a magnificent spectacle of human happiness, but a still more magnificent spectacle of two peoples united, loving righteousness and hating iniquity, inflexibly faithful to the principles of eternal justice, which are the unchanging laws of God.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Two Original Letters of Ethan Allen

From the Collection of Hon. T. Romeyn Beek, M.D., of Albany, now in possession of Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt.

(FIRST LETTER)

Addressed To The Honble The Committee of Safty or Correspondence at Albany.

Ticonderoga in the Evening of the 12th of May A.D. 1775.

Gentlemen

This Moment an Express has Arived From Crownpoint with Letters From Capt Seth Warner Giving an Account of The Surrender of That Place to him and his Command without the Loss of Blood, together with a Large Quantity of Cannon, The Particulars of which Cannot at Present be Ascertained. Provision and Ammunition Very Short,—of the Former Only Sufficient for Four days——Cannon not Mounted, Carriages out of Repair and Many Irreparable, No Workmen to Repair or build Anew, Our Troops Few in No & do not Exceed the No of 150 or Therabouts, Great Part of which (on acct of Their Peculiar Circumstances) Would Willingly be Reliev'd as Soon as Maybe—The News of The Reduction of These Fortresses have Gone to Quebec and Doubtless will be Forwarded with Great Expedition—We are in a Defensless Estate at Present and Much Fatigu'd with Our Late Forced March Thro the Wilderness and Laying the best Plans in our Power for the Safety of the Prizes we have Made Ourselves Masters of—

As we are In Want of Almost Every Necessary (Courage Excepted) We Earnestly Request your Immediate Relief, By Troops, Provision, Arms and Ammunition &c. as your Wisdom May direct—We Send This Evening an Express thro' the N. Hampshire Grants which is to go as Far as Connecticut on The Same Request—have wrote you before Relative to this Subject In part. I am Gentlemen, in haste,

Your most Obedt

Humble Servt

By order The Council War.

Ethan Allen

Commander at this Place

To The Gentlemen Committee

(SECOND LETTER)

This letter was addressed to James Caldwell, a well-known and eminent merchant of Albany. The book to which reference is made was entitled "Reason the only oracle of man, or a Compendious system of Natural Religion."

Bennington 7th of February 1785

Sir

My System of Philosophy is nearly half printed and the printers have proposed to me, to take goods for their pay; I therefore take the liberty of proposing a trade with you, to the amount of one hundred and fifty pounds lawful money, on terms of six, or eight months' credit, in which time I presume the Books will turn to money, to make remittence to you for the goods; besides I have considerable money due to me within that time. You will please to consider my proposition and act in the premises as may be consistent with your schemes of Trade.

I am Sir with esteem

your Humbl

Sert Ethan Allen.

Mr Caldwell

NOTES

New York choosing Grant for the Presidency—In December, 1867, a great public meeting was held in New York City for the purpose of proposing the name of General Grant as a candidate for the Presidency. At the head of the list of those who signed the call for this meeting is that of Alexander T. Stewart, and he presided over the meeting. The speakers were Judge Hilton, Hon. Francis B. Cutting, General Daniel E. Sickles, Hon. Lyman Tremaine, Simeon B. Chittenden, and others. One of the resolutions adopted was as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the brilliant services rendered by General Ulysses S. Grant, at a period of imminent peril to the American Union, have shed imperishable renown on the American name and character, and can never be forgotten by a people alive to the blessings of institutions under whose benign influence they have become a free and united nation."

After the meeting a committee of twenty-four prominent citizens was appointed to effectuate the nomination and election of Grant, of which an executive committee, consisting of Judge Hilton, Moses H. Grinnell, C. K. Garrison, William E. Dodge, and General John Cochrane, were intrusted with the duty of providing head-quarters and opening correspondence throughout the country. A stirring circular letter was prepared, signed by the chairman and the committee, and more than half a million of these letters were sent to every quarter of the United States.

Thus the foundation for the election of Grant as President was laid in the call for the meeting at the Cooper Institute, the superstructure was raised by the intelligent and energetic work of the Executive Committee, and success was achieved under the rallying cry of the campaign taken from Grant's letter of acceptance: "*Let us have peace.*"

The Virginia ordinance of secession—The following private letter was written by ex-President John Tyler to his wife on the 17th of April, 1861: "Well, my dearest one, Virginia has severed her connection with the northern hive of abolitionists, and takes her stand as a sovereign and independent State. By a large vote she decided on yesterday, at about three o'clock, to resume the powers she had granted to the Federal government, and to stand before the world clothed in the full vestments of sovereignty. The die is thus cast, and her future is in the hands of the god of battle. The contest into which we enter is one full of peril, but there is a spirit abroad in Virginia which cannot be crushed until the life of the last man is trampled out. The numbers opposed to us are immense; but twelve thousand Grecians conquered the whole power of Zerxes at Marathon, and our fathers, a mere handful, overcame the enormous power of Great Britain.

"The North seems to be thoroughly united against us. The *Herald* and the *Express* both give way and rally hosts against us. Things have gone to that point in Philadelphia that no one is safe

in the expression of a Southern sentiment. Poor Robert is threatened with mob violence. I attempted to telegraph him to-day, but no dispatch is permitted northward, so that no one knows there, except by secret agent, what has transpired here. At Washington a system of martial law must have been established. The report is that persons are not permitted to pass through the city to the South. There is another report that General Scott resigned yesterday, and was put under arrest. I hope it may be so, but I do not believe it. I have some fear that he will not resign. Reports are too conflicting about it. To-morrow night is now fixed for the great procession; flags are raised all about town."—*Letters and Times of the Tylers.* Vol. II.

Ancient prices of clothing—The following letter written by John Penn, son of William Penn, gives us a glimpse of the prices of clothing, etc., during the Revolutionary war. With ladies' shoes costing £4 2s. 6d., we no longer wonder that Washington's commissariat failed to furnish his soldiers at Valley Forge with suitable covering for their feet. Penn's sympathies were evidently not with the colonies, although he attempted the difficult role of a neutral:

Lansdown, *July* 29, 1778.

Dear sir: I have long waited for a safe opportunity of writing to you, and such an one has at length offered by Mr. Taylor's visit to Philadelphia. Mrs. Penn and Mrs. Bremmer are extremely sorry they have not had it in their power to execute yours and the ladies' commissions, the exorbitant prices of the particular articles which I shall give you from Mrs. Penn, and there being no such thing as a guittar of any sort to be sold in Philadelphia, having rendered it impossible. Lustring is £9 per yard; 15 yards, which they say is necessary to make an Italian gown, would alone amount to £135. Gauze is from £2 5s. to £3 per yard; ribbon is £1 per yard; shoes £4 2s. 6d. per pair; catgut is £3 per yard; gloves and black silk mittens were not to be got some time ago, but Mrs. Penn will make further enquiry about them. All other articles are proportionably dear. We shall wait your farther orders, either to return you the money or dispose of it in any way you shall think proper. I have nothing of news that can be depended upon, and think you are better situated for hearing what passes than I am. I have been in Philadelphia but twice since I came home, and then only upon business. I live much retired from choice, and am growing fast into the farmer, which is far from being a disagreeable kind of life to me, and may possibly be a profitable one. If you can tell me how and when we shall be happy again "Gris mihi magnus apello." I am weary of conjectures, though I am not disposed to put an end to them as Cato did, but shall endeavor to wait the final issue of our present troubles with as much patience as possible. I heartily wish the distance from here to Edgerston was not greater than from our late prison, the Forge, which was made infinitely more agreeable to us than it otherwise would have been by its being in your neighborhood. Mrs. Penn joins me in compliments to the ladies. I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant.

John Penn.

Charlotte L. Rutherfurd.

QUERIES

New york seventh regiment [xiv. 212]—I desire to be added to the list of inquirers represented by "Palmetto," as to the number of officers, etc., furnished to the "Confederate Army" during the Civil War by members of the far-famed "Seventh Regiment." A solution of this query, I think, would be a matter of general interest, inasmuch as this splendid corps has always been so prominently identified with the history of the State and nation. Not to my knowledge did any Seventh Regiment men serve on the Confederate side, but a small number may have done so, as we know that West Point furnished several officers to the South. If any such can be found, it would also be a matter of interest to know how many were officers, and the number apportioned to the respective grades of rank.

"Excelsior."

New York, *August* 12, 1885.

Dixie—Can any of your readers give a clear account of the origin of the term Dixie or Dixie's land? Who was the fabled Dixie, and where did he live, if anywhere? When was the song known as "Dixie" written?

G. H. B.

Columbia College, New York, *August* 5, 1885.

Charles marseilles — *Editor of Magazine:* Can you or any of your readers inform me who was "Charles Marseilles, Esq., at New York," to whom were addressed the letters of *Tamoc Caspipina* (the initial letters of the words —"The Assistant Minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's, in Philadelphia, in North America), which was the *nom de plume* of Rev. Jacob Duché, D.D., Assistant Minister and Rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church, in Philadelphia, and who was the first Chaplain of the American Congress. I desire to know the business or profession, ancestry, and any other information concerning the said Charles Marseilles. I also desire a copy of the edition of "Caspipinas' Letters," published at Bath, England, 1777, in 2 vols., 8vo.

Charles Marseilles.

Exeter, New Hampshire, *March* 17, 1885.

Captain james sands—In the "History of Block Island," by Rev. S. T. Livermore, we are told, on page 269, that "Henry Sands was admitted a freeman of Boston in 1640, and that he was the father of Captain James Sands, who was born in Reading, England, in 1622, and when a young man was employed to build a house for the noted Ann Hutchinson, at East Chester, N. Y." On the next page is the statement that "it was in 1658 that Mr. Sands *with his wife* came from England and landed at Plymouth, and soon after this he undertook the building of the house for Mrs. Hutchinson. He afterward settled at Block Island." On page 271 he is named as "probably the James Sands mentioned as a freeman of Rhode Island in 1655, and as a representative of the General Court of Commissioners held at Newport, May 19, 1657." Will some correspondent reconcile these dates with each other, and with the fact that Ann Hutchinson died in 1643? Henry Sands and his

wife Sibyl joined the First Church of Boston, October 10, 1638. We cannot substitute 1638 for 1658, for then James was only sixteen years old, and probably unmarried. C. ESTABROOK.

NEWBURGH, NEW YORK.

THE GALLANT SEVENTH REGIMENT UNDER FIRE—Was the "Gallant Seventh Regiment" ever under fire during the Civil War? If so, I should like to know when and where? They returned home before the battle of Bull Run, in which the rest of the New York militia participated, and during their subsequent services "at the front" were they not careful to keep away from danger?

"REGULAR ARMY."

WEST POINT, *July* 28, 1885.

YELLOW BREECHES, PENNSYLVANIA—In a list of letters remaining in the Post-Office at Philadelphia, January 9, 1772, printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of the 13th, there is one directed to James McKnight, *Yellow Breeches*.

What part of Pennsylvania was known by this extraodinary name?

PETERSFIELD.

REPLIES

THE NEW YORK SEVENTH REGIMENT [xiv. 69]—*Editor Magazine of American History:* The article, "The Seventh Regiment at the Capital, 1861," by General Egbert L. Viele, is inaccurate in one or two particulars. He says in conclusion: "Then came the mysterious order for a midnight movement to what point and for what purpose no one knew. Each man was supplied with forty rounds of ammunition and three days' rations, and at two o'clock in the morning, without music, and but one low word of command, the regiment left its camp, and marching silently through the city, crossed the Long Bridge into Virginia." The men of the Seventh may not have known to what point they were moving, but the New Jersey brigade were fully cognizant of it before leaving camp at Meridian Hill, from which it marched at precisely twelve o'clock. When our brigade reached the Washington Monument grounds at two o'clock it passed the New York Seventh and Eighth, Sherman's artillery, and other regiments already drawn up in line there; and I well remember the cheering words they saluted us with as we continued on, passing over the Long Bridge into Virginia, leaving them behind. Our skirmishers had reached the viaduct bridge on the road to Alexandria, when we learned of the landing of the Ellsworth Zouaves and a Michigan regiment, who had gone down by the river. The Seventh reached us the next noon, and as Lieutenant Prime was marking off Fort Runyon, Colonel Lefferts came up and asked permission for his command to assist in throwing up entrenchments. which request was cheerfully granted by our general (Runyon). The Seventh dug dirt for two hours, then returned to Washington, and for this received more credit in the papers than we got for completing the works, which required nearly two months' time.

J. MADISON DRAKE.

ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY.

SOCIETIES

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The Executive Committee met in the Westmoreland Club-House on the evening of August 1, 1885, Mr. Cabell in the chair.

Gifts of books from various institutions and individuals were reported; also, two valuable and interesting manuscripts—a faithful history of the career of the iron-clad gunboat, the *Virginia* (called by the Federals the *Merrimac*), corrective of the erroneous accounts which have recently appeared in the Century Magazine of the engagement of the "*Merrimac*" with the Federal fleet in Hampton Roads in March, 1862; from its author, Dr. Dinwiddie B. Phillips, Madison-Run Station, Orange County, Virginia, formerly surgeon of the United States navy, late of the Confederate States navy, and surgeon on the *Virginia*, or "*Merrimac*"; also the Pioneer and Revolutionary Reminiscences of the late Major John Redd, of Henry County, Virginia, born October 25, 1755, died 1850. This MS. was dictated in 1842 to a grandson, giving incidents of the settlement of Southwestern Virginia and Kentucy, of pioneer life, hunting, hostility of the Indians, etc., from Captain W. T. Clarke, Danville, Virginia, a grandson of Major Redd.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting on the 7th of July, President Gammell in the chair. Mr. Amos Perry, the Secretary, reported gifts to the Society of a large number of valuable books. A resolution was passed, that a committee of five be appointed by the President to devise a plan for the observance of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Providence, and that the said committee be requested to report at the October meeting the result of its deliberations. The President then read a paper, suggested by the receipt of a volume on the subject of the Yellow fever, by Moses Brown, whose life and works he traced in the most interesting manner.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting June 26, President Bradbury in the chair. After the customary reports were read the following officers were elected for the ensuing year. President, Hon. J. W. Bradbury; Vice-President, Hon. Wm. G. Barrows; Corresponding Secretary, Hon. Wm. Goold; Treasurer, Lewis Pierce; Biographer, Joseph Williamson; Recording Secretary, Librarian, and Cabinet-Keeper, W. H. Bryant.

THE ARYAN SOCIETY—The first Heraldic Visitation ever held in the United States took place in Portland, Maine, July 29. It was in accordance with a plan adopted by the Aryan Order of America at Baltimore in 1880, to hold Heraldic Visitations in every State for the purpose of registrating all accounts of family coats-of-arms possible to be obtained, with how and when they came into possession of families. The records derived from these visitations are to be collected together as the material for a National Heraldy College.

Frederic Gregory Forsyth presided at the meeting.

BOOK NOTICES

AN INGLORIOUS COLUMBUS; or, Evidence that Hwui Shăn and a party of Buddhist Monks from Afghanistan DISCOVERED AMERICA in the Fifth Century, A.D. By EDWARD P. VINING. 8vo, pp. 788. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1885.

Not an attractive title, and not an attractive book. Supposing it to be proven that Buddhist monks, from what is now a bigoted Mohammedan country, did discover America in the Fifth century, it is somewhat difficult, from a utilitarian stand-point, to determine the precise value of such a lengthened and laborious demonstration of the fact. Yet the demonstration has value, and that not merely historical, but also theological and ethical.

That America was peopled from Asia by way of Behring's Straits, either since their formation or while there was continuous land connection between the two continents, is, to say the least, highly probable. Numerous facts of history and science bind together the civilizations of America and Asia with a power that cannot be broken. Another element of usefulness in this erudite volume is the assurance that all philanthropic labor will, sooner or later, receive its meed of applause.

"Nearly fourteen centuries," writes Mr. Vining in conclusion, "have passed since Hwui Shăn—led by his religious faith to carry the feeble rush-light that shone upon his path to illuminate the lives of those who lay in darkness—pressed on from one unknown land to another, preaching the faith by which his life was guided. Of the toils and dangers that he underwent we can catch but a glimpse through the mists of these fourteen hundred years, but we have reason to believe that, of the company of five that started, he alone returned to Asia, that he was an old man when he reached China, and that he probably never saw his native land again. The Chinese believed his story, but knew nothing more of the land which was visited by him. European and American scholars have for many years known something in regard to his statements; but for lack of careful, sufficient investigation many have been inclined to discredit them. It is the hope of the author that the proof herein presented, that Hwui Shăn discovered America a thousand years before it was known to Europeans, will be sufficient to induce the world to give to this faithful missionary of the Buddhist faith the honor to which he is entitled, so that he may no longer remain "An Inglorious Columbus."

If, as Hwui Shăn probably believed, there be no conscious immortality of the individual soul, this somewhat tardy and stinted reward won't do him any good; if there be, as Christianity teaches, then he may receive accession to happiness from the publication of this learned, elaborate, replete, suggestive, and—in weather with the thermometer in the nineties—altogether formidable volume.

The subject is one that has charms for the antiquarian and philosopher; otherwise, De Guignes, Klaproth, De Paravey, Neumann, Perez, Godrow, D'Eichthal, Humboldt, Lobsheid, Prescott, etc., etc., would not have devoted as much attention to it as they have; nor would so large a corps of modern *savants* have been deeply interested in the author's labors.

There are very many portions of the book that will be read with interest and profit, even by those who don't care whether Hwui Shăn be inglorious or glorious.

THE GRIMKÉ SISTERS: SARAH AND ANGELINA GRIMKÉ. The First American Women Advocates of Abolition and Women's Rights. By CATHERINE H. BIRNEY. 12mo, pp. 319. 1885. Lee & Shepard. Boston.

The Grimké sisters were South Carolinians, bred in a home of luxury, and early introduced into a life of fashionable pleasure. They were the daughters of John F. Grimké, a judge of the Supreme Court of South Carolina; their mother was the great-granddaughter of the second Landgrave of South Carolina, and a descendant of Sir Roger Moore, of Kildare, the hero of ancient song and story. Sarah Grimké at a very early age evinced remarkable intellectual powers, and while surrounded by slaves was strongly prejudiced against the institution of slavery. Once, when a mere child of four or five years old, she accidentally witnessed the terrible whipping of a negro woman, and ran away to a wharf, where her nurse found her begging a sea captain to carry her off to some place where such things were not done. Sarah was some twelve years older than Angelina, and stood godmother for her at the baptismal font. Sarah's first visit to the North was with her father, who died at Long Branch. She returned to Charleston, but soon after came North and united with the Quakers. The first visit of Angelina to Philadelphia was in 1828, up to which time she had not seen anything sinful in owning slaves. She was then a fine-looking young woman of twenty-three. The remarkable careers of these two sisters are traced in their gradual development in the pages of this volume with no little skill. Angelina was ad-

mitted as a member of the Friends' Society, and began preparations for the ministry. She, however, married Theodore T. Weld, in 1838, and at their novel marriage ceremony were present, among many others, Henry B. Stanton, C. C. Burleigh, Amos Dresser, William Lloyd Garrison, H. C. Wright, Maria and Mary Chapman, Abby Kelly, and Samuel Philbrick. William Lloyd Garrison read the marriage certificate aloud, which was signed by the whole company. The anti-slavery movement enlisted the sympathies of these sisters and absorbed their energies. Both were eloquent lecturers and active workers. Miss Catherine Beecher's book on the "Slave Question," published in 1837, was addressed to Angelina Grimké. The book was received with much favor by slaveholders and their apologists. The tumultuous scenes in various places attending the anti-slavery conventions, while in session, are described with much effect by the author of this work—which is written throughout in a clear, natural, and pleasant style.

PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Vol. I., No. 1. Report of the Organization and Proceedings, Saratoga, September 9–10, 1884. By HERBERT B. ADAMS, Secretary of the Association. 8vo, pp. 44. Vol. I., No. 2. "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization." A Paper read before the American Historical Association. By ANDREW D. WHITE, President. 8vo, pp. 28. Vol. I., No. 3. "History and Management of Land Grants for Education in the North-west Territory." By GEORGE W. KNIGHT, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 175. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1885.

These are the first three issues of the "American Historical Association," organized last year at Saratoga under the auspices of the American Social Science Association. The object of this new society is not to promote original researches and investigations in any form, but simply to provide historical scholars with an annual meeting for social purposes and mutual acquaintance, and to provide the means and a method of printing their respective productions. Whether such a society was needed may be questioned. However, it exists, and the three "papers" above mentioned are its first printed results.

The first is a simple account of the origin of the society, which was evidently intended to be a mere "section" of the Social Science Association. But after some discussion and opposition, it was finally, and wisely, voted to form an entirely independent organization. A very brief constitution was adopted, and Mr. Andrew D. White chosen president. His "inaugural address" forms the second of the three papers. It is very general, without any striking points, and is merely a fair lyceum paper upon its subject. The third paper is an elaborate account of the land grants for education, in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, drawn from public documents, with a list of which the paper concludes. It was written as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Michigan, and obtained the distinction. It bears marks of its purpose, and contains an historical statement or two at its beginning which are doubtful. But it shows attention, hard work, a good literary style, and a sincere endeavor to tell the truth, especially about the general mismanagement of the various land grants. The result that the author shows in these five States is such, that we may be thankful that the wild ideas prevalent last year in some politicians' speeches, that the general government should embark in a grand education experiment based on the unsold public lands, have now no likelihood of being adopted.

FAMILIES OF THE WYOMING VALLEY, Biographical, Genealogical, and Historical. SKETCHES OF THE BENCH AND BAR of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. In two volumes. By GEORGE B KULP. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 504. 1885. Published at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Price $7.50 per volume.

It is well known that the Wyoming Valley was principally settled by New Englanders, or, we should say, by the people of Connecticut, although Pennsylvania had a moderate share in the achievement. Some of the best families in the country contributed toward laying the foundation of a Christian and enlightened community in that region. That they succeeded in the most admirable manner has been made abundantly evident through the number of their descendants who have achieved distinction in the various walks of life. Mr. Kulp has, in this handsomely printed work before us, projected a series of biographical sketches of the judges and leading lawyers of Luzerne County, in Pennsylvania, which is, we believe, the first history of the bench and bar of a county ever published. These studies naturally include much that is historical, and many important genealogical records. The work appears to have been executed in a painstaking and conscientious spirit, and it is eminently readable. The want of an index or table of contents detracts very materially from its present value, but the reader is informed that the second volume will contain a complete

index to both volumes. We have never ceased to recommend an index to each, where there are two or more volumes comprehended in one work, as more convenient and in every way desirable ; and particularly in a case like this, where the first is issued prior to the second, it is a serious mistake to permit it go forth with no guide to its contents.

Among the interesting personal sketches in the book none will attract more general attention than the one entitled Edmund Griffin Butler. Aside from the career of the subject, the author gives us a stirring history of the massacre of Wyoming. Colonel Zebulon Butler, who emigrated to Wyoming in 1769, and made himself so famous, was the ancestor of Edmund Griffin Butler, and the chapter contains some very thrilling descriptive passages. The genealogical notes in the sketch of Governor Henry Martyn Hoyt are of special interest. Simon Hoyt, the first of the name in this country, reached Salem, Massachusetts, in 1628, with Governor Endicott, and was one of the founders of seven different towns. He was of the party who traveled on foot from Salem through the woods to explore and settle Charleston. In 1636 he was among the founders of Windsor, Connecticut, and a deacon in Rev. Thomas Hooker's church. General Epaphras Hoyt, the historian and antiquarian writer (born 1765), who lived in the famous old Indian house, in Deerfield, Massachusetts descended from Nicholas Hoyt, the second son of Simon Hoyt. The governor's family descended from Walter, another son of Simon Hoyt. The Hoyt family has been noted in all the generations for its able and accomplished men.

THE TWO HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY OF BISHOP GEORGE BERKELEY. A Discourse given at Yale College on the 12th of March, 1885. By NOAH PORTER. 8vo, pp. 84. New York. 1885: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The object of President Porter in this admirable essay has been to present in a condensed form some of the most important facts in Bishop Berkeley's history. He says in his preface, "No better discipline to clear and sharp thinking, and at the same time to noble aims and aspirations, can be furnished than from a study of Berkeley's life and opinions. The memory of Berkeley will always be fresh and fragrant with all generous and thoughtful souls The facts are not without interest that Berkeley's name is connected with one of the most interesting and delightful points of land that looks out upon the stormy Atlantic towards the 'still-vexed Bermoothes,' where he hoped to locate his college, and has also been attached to the beautiful site of the University of California, which commands the golden gate that opens into the great Pacific."

Of the fruits of Berkeley's life in America President Porter refers to his greatest and most memorable achievement, "Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher," remarking, "As a picture of the times this work is of priceless and permanent value. It can never be antiquated so long as philosophy shall renew its foolish and never-ending battle with personality in man and in God, or criticism shall back its new theories with the old assumption that there is no God in history. The reader of 'Alciphron' will find that Agnosticism is no novelty as a philosophical theory, although in Berkeley's day it was propounded on the one hand by a provost and a bishop, and on the other by troops of indolent doubters, similarly as in our time it has been taught by an Oxford divine on the one hand, and on the other by a philosopher who claims to be master in every line of thinking. Dr. Dwight in the year 1803 procured the republica tion of this treatise as an antidote to the infidelity of his times. It was printed in New Haven, and stray copies are to be found in some of the old houses of Connecticut."

The volume is a gem both in substance and presentation, as entertaining as it is instructive, and should be accessible to every intelligent reader. It is printed in a style of exceptional elegance, and dedicated to the Bishops of Rhode Island and California, who were classmates of the author at Yale.

LAWN TENNIS AS A GAME OF SKILL. With latest revised laws as played by the best clubs. By Lieutenant S. C. F. PEILE, B.S.C Edited by RICHARD D. SEARS. 16mo pp. 90. 1885. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This little hand-book was written for English players to help them to an understanding of the science of lawn tennis, and to point out the faults to which even expert players are sometimes addicted. Mr. Peile's good advice applies with equal force to American tennis players, the laws which govern the game being the same in all countries. Mr. Sears has added notes suggested by his own experience, and the little work promises to be of substantial service to such as seek to understand the game thoroughly.

S. F. Du Pont

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THE PORT ROYAL EXPEDITION, 1861

THE FIRST UNION VICTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR

PROBABLY no event of the late gigantic Civil War so stirred the loyal hearts of the country with joy and thankfulness as the unexpected, absolute, and decisive victory in Port Royal harbor, South Carolina, on the 7th of November, 1861. A great armada, surpassed by few expeditions of its character in the history of war, passed out into the ocean from Hampton Roads on the 29th day of October, in a grand pageant, to a destination wholly and entirely unknown to the thirty thousand soldiers and sailors who composed its military and naval forces, but followed by the prayers of millions for its success—millions who for long days and weeks and months had lived in doubt and despondency. The consternation and alarm aroused throughout the land by the disaster at Bull Run could only be counterbalanced by some great and overwhelming victory; but where the blow would fall, or through what special channels the much-desired victory could be won, was as yet an unsolved problem.

A gun from the flag-ship *Wabash*, at a few minutes past five o'clock of that lovely October morning, gave the signal for starting. Not a cloud was to be seen in all the broad expanse of the blue sky, and scarcely a breeze ruffled the surface of the water. Both shores of the magnificent harbor were lined with spectators. From one side came blessings, from the other curses—for those serene waters constituted the dividing line between the two sections of the country arrayed in deadly warfare. A scene so remarkable in grandeur and effect has seldom been witnessed. The fleet consisted of seventy-seven vessels, including its men-of-war, transports, steam-tugs, and sailing craft. It was under the command of Commodore Samuel Francis Dupont. It sailed in three parallel lines, the steam frigate *Wabash*, the flag-ship of the expedition, leading the men-of-war and gun-boats—the *Baltic, Oriental, Empire City, Atlantic, Ericsson, R. B. Forbes, Ocean Express, Vanderbilt, Illinois, Golden Eagle, Great Republic, Ocean Queen, Philadelphia, Roanoke, Locust Point, Zenas Coffin, Matanzas, Star of the South, Potomac, Ben Deford, Parkersburg, Winfield Scott, Belvidere,*